# Proceedings and Index of the 74<sup>th</sup> Annual Convention



# Communications Workers of America

David Lawrence Convention Center Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania April 22-23, 2013

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## MONDAY MORNING SESSION

### April 22, 2013

The 74<sup>th</sup> Convention of the Communications Workers of America, AFL-CIO, CLC, held April 22-23, 2013, at the David Lawrence Convention Center in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, convened at 9:00 a.m., Temporary Chair Sandra L. Kmetyk, President, CWA Local 13500, presiding.

**TEMPORARY CHAIR KMETYK:** Good morning, CWA delegates, friends, and family. Please take your seats.

The official clock here in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, indicates that it is 9:00 a.m. And that means it is time for us to begin our work. I ask everyone to please be seated as I call the 74th Convention of the Communications Workers of America to order.

My name is Sandy Kmetyk, and I am President of CWA Local 13500. I am very proud to welcome you to our great city. My local, 13500, is very diverse, and we have accomplished a lot since 1944 when our local was first established. I am proud to be CWA.

Larry Cohen was my introduction to CWA when we were still an independent union. Larry was Organizing Director at the time and he taught me not to be afraid, but to organize and spread the union word-- and we haven't stopped since. Today our local represents workers at AT&T, AT&T Mobility, and Verizon Customer Service workers, Life Path, home health care workers, and Red Cross. We welcome anyone who wants a voice on the job. That's how we are building our union.

I am honored to serve as Temporary Chair this morning. And on behalf of the members of Local 13500 and all my sister locals in District 2-13, I welcome you to Pittsburgh and to the 74th Convention of the Communications Workers of America.

We will open our Convention as we traditionally do-- with a prayer. This morning we will be led by Reverend Jack O'Malley. Father Jack is a long time priest here in Pittsburgh. He serves as Chaplain for the State AFL-CIO and as part of the Pittsburgh Interfaith Network. He works nonstop to bring together the faith community to help working families.

Father Jack.

**REVEREND FATHER JACK O'MALLEY (Chaplain, AFL-CIO-Pittsburgh):** We may be in Pittsburgh, but our hearts, our thoughts and our prayers are in Boston. We may be in Pittsburgh, but our prayers and our hearts and our thoughts are in Texas.

We welcome all of you here. As we remember and pray for workers and people everywhere, the cowardly killing of innocent people at the Boston Marathon reminds us how vulnerable we are in a free society. And so our prayers and our thoughts are with Boston Strong, the fertilizer plant workers' families in Texas, and for all people suffering.

The best prayer that I heard in these past few weeks came from little Martin Richards, eight years old, who was killed because he wanted to watch his father cross the finish line in the Boston Marathon. His mom and his sister were seriously injured.

When the media talked about little Martin, they showed him at one point holding up a little sign, as we hold up signs so often-- a little banner that he made in church or at school. And his banner reminded

us of the perfect prayer for people everywhere. Little Martin's banner with the peace symbol and with drawn hearts on his little burlap sign said, "No more hurting people. Peace."

"No more hurting people. Peace."

Most of our prayers are too wordy, but Martin made it simple for us: a perfect prayer, a powerful message for all of us. This is why workers come together, because our brothers and sisters are hurting. If you can't feed your family, have a living wage, have health care, have a pension, your family is hurting. We organize and struggle and fight in a nonviolent way so there's no more hurting people.

When corporations buy and sell for each other so that they can avoid paying the United Mine Workers for their work and due pension and health care, we say, "No more hurting people." When corporations privatize and tell us they have to do this so the wine and spirits in the State stores are more successful, we say, like Martin, "No more hurting people."

When they tell us there is voter fraud and we must have voter ID, we know what that code word is about-- to eliminate a progressive vote. We say, "No more hurting people."

When health care workers are arrested and fired for trying to organize the workers who take care of our parents and grandparents, our children and ourselves, we say, "No more hurting people."

So Martin's prayer encourages us to organize, to resist and persist, to encourage politicians who are too weak to stand up and vote for card check, for a background check, when they refuse to take assault weapons off our streets because they must get reelected or they are afraid of a certain organization like the NRA, we say, "No more hurting people." These weapons are killing our brothers and sisters in our cities every day.

Martin's prayer encourages us to stand up, to fight back for our brothers and sisters-- in Boston, in Texas. And so let us pray.

Today we are not a lone voice. We are many voices. We speak for ourselves and we speak for others who cannot speak. We carry our own stories. We carry the stories of those who are not here. We are names and faces-- and we bring with us names and faces of those beyond these walls. We may be small in number, but we bring with us multitudes.

Today, in this place where laws are made, this is who we are, this is who we carry. We are within the margins and we are the marginalized. We are the nursed and we are the hungry. We are the housed and we are the homeless. We are the healthy and we are the sick. We are the believers and we are the doubters.

We are the remembered and we are the forgotten. We are the faithful and we are a faith that is full. We sing of more love, more hope, more peace, and more joy. We say we will keep on until we find these things alive and living in our neighborhoods, our towns, our state, and our world.

This is why we are here, so no more people are hurting. Thank you, Martin.

We gather today to practice our faith, a faith of preaching practice, a faith of practice preaching, and we are not alone. We are many voices, we are many hands, and we are many hearts.

We thank you, Martin. We pray for your family and for all families that are hurting. And may we be inspired together to say, amen.

**TEMPORARY CHAIR KMETYK:** Thank you, Father Jack.

Please stand for the presentation of the Colors followed by the National Anthems of the United States, Canada, and Puerto Rico. All of our flag bearers and singers are CWA members.

Presenting the American, Canadian, and Puerto Rican flags are Michael O'Rourke, a retiree from CWA Local 13000; Bob Schwartz, CWA Local 13000, Unit 41 President; and Vic Shaffer, CWA Local 13000 Unit 104 President.

"The Star Spangled Banner" will be sung by Kent Wallace, a member of CWA Local 13550. Scott Edmonds, Vice President of CWA/SCA, Canada West, will sing the Canadian National Anthem. And Luis Benitez-Burgos, Secretary-Treasurer of CWA Local 3010, will sing the National Anthem of Puerto Rico.

... The delegates arose as the Colors were brought forward to the podium, and National Anthems were sung ...

**TEMPORARY CHAIR KMETYK:** Thank you, Kent, Scott, Luis and our CWA Color Guard.

Please be seated. I am proud to be able to introduce a true champion for Pittsburgh working families, Jack Shea, President of the Allegheny County Labor Council for the past 15 years.

Jack came out of the IUE and became Assistant Organizing Director in IUE in 1973. So we are glad to welcome him as part of the CWA family. And here in Pittsburgh, Jack is affectionately called "The Man." (Applause)

JACK SHEA (President, Allegheny County Labor Council): I got another handle, I guess.

Well, first of all, let me welcome everybody to Pittsburgh. That's where I was born and raised, and it feels so good to be with my family, the CWA, the IUE-CWA. I am so glad to be here. And I want to thank President Cohen and Secretary-Treasurer Hill for asking our Central Labor Council to be here today.

I also want to point out to my President, my Division President of IUE-CWA, President Jim Clark. Jim? And also our International Vice President, Ed Mooney from District 2-13. Ed, thank you very much.

You know, our Central Labor Council has approximately 100,000 people. That seems like a lotand it is-- but very honestly, sometimes when we go to rallies, it should be a lot more. As you are being served this week in hotels and the convention center, be sure to thank the workers here. They are from Unite HERE, Local 57. You know, every hotel we have in the city of any size is union except one, and obviously we don't use that.

I was asked about our political activity here in Pittsburgh. Well, I would say we do a pretty good job for the affiliates. That's how we get it done. But I have a saying, "Always keep one eye open."

We all know what happened in Michigan. Who would ever have thought that? How we do it is, very honestly, we put on the AFL-CIO political program-- we have been running it for 15 years-- and we get the affiliates to participate where they can. When you get all the unions together, we have about 200 local unions, and if we get a few out of every union, it does the job. We are proud of that.

We also currently have two organizing drives going on. One is with the largest employer in Pennsylvania. The unit will be 20,000 people. Our Central Labor Council helped them with their strategies. That's something I have been doing all my life.

We are also in the process of organizing the Rivers Casino. There is a coalition of four unions that got together and got that thing started, and I think we are well on our way over there.

So my friends and brothers and sisters, things are not too bad in Pittsburgh. But wait! About three weeks ago I was asked to go to a rally for CWA against AT&T. They are getting rid of 200 to 250 jobs right up the street. The following day, we had a rally in front of the Federal Building for the sequestration which some claim is going to cost us two million jobs.

A few days later-- actually it was on a Sunday-- I joined close to 300 people with the Postal Office to try to save the sixth day. That may cost us 100,000 jobs.

As you heard Father O'Malley say, wine and spirits in this state could lose very easily 5,000 middle-class paying jobs. And, oh, by the way, a few days later, we opened the paper to read where US Airways is getting rid of 750 jobs, and they are kicking around the heavy maintenance, another 1,500.

All of those are middle-class jobs. And as all that was going on, we have this varmint company, Peabody Coal, Peabody Energy, that's collecting several local unions, several companies, to do away with medical care and pensions for the workers.

So, yeah, we might be able to see some of the good that's being done here in Pittsburgh and southwestern Pennsylvania. We represent two counties, and we administrate four, but they are all middle-class jobs.

I will tell you, when we're home and we get a flyer in the mail, when somebody says they need help, we must get off our ass. (Applause) If we don't, we will wake up some day and it will all be gone.

But I don't want you to leave with a bad taste in Pittsburgh, because we work hard every day. Last week, two weeks ago, our State Legislators put anti-legislation up for prevailing wage-- more middle class jobs. You know, I think it was two weeks ago I attended a rally for an organization called the Women and Girls, and that was about women making 77 cents to a man's dollar.

Now, we don't have that problem in the labor movement. We can solve that problem pretty quick if they'd just join our unions. But let me tell you something they did, and something you have to think about because it is still our issue. Because when they are doing that, they are suppressing all wages in our country.

They were selling these cookies, they are Smiley Cookies. We have a restaurant around here who promotes Smiley Cookies. For a man, the cost is a dollar. For a lady, the cost was 77 cents. Well, that made sense to me, that maybe we all ought to start doing that to bring the issue to the surface, because that's been happening since I started in the Labor Movement in 1967.

Now I know there's got to be people in the room who say, "Oh, I've heard this before. I have heard all of this before." I certainly have. I heard it 30 years ago. I heard it 35 years ago. But you know what? It's true. Look at the size of our unions. Look how they are eroding. Look how these corporations are taking it right out from under us.

What are we leaving our children? A minimum wage job with no health care, certainly no pension? That ain't what I want to leave my grandchildren, I'll tell you that right now.

So welcome to Pittsburgh. Thanks for being here. And remember, when you come to Pittsburgh and spend all your per diem, try to spend it in a union location. Thank you. (Applause)

**TEMPORARY CHAIR KMETYK:** Thank you so very much, Jack. It is now my pleasure to introduce Richard Bloomingdale, President of the Pennsylvania AFL-CIO. Rick was elected President of the State Fed in 2010 after serving as the State Federation Secretary-Treasurer and AFSCME State Political Director. It's my pleasure to introduce Rick Bloomingdale. (Applause)

**RICHARD W. BLOOMINGDALE (President, Pennsylvania AFL-CIO):** Good morning, delegates, brothers and sisters. It's great to be here, and I bring a welcome from our 60 vice presidents, which include three from CWA-- Ed Mooney, Jim Gardler, and Jack Shea-- as well as our Secretary-Treasurer, Frank Snyder who is in the audience today.

Welcome to Pittsburgh. I'm going to be very brief. I had about a 30-minute speech, but I was asked to cut that down. But I want to bring you just one message today, and it is so important because not everybody gets it. We talk about the ability to, you know, Buy American, Buy Union. We always talk about that, but sometimes we should ask ourselves why. There is one reason why. The rising tide, as John Kennedy said, lifts all boats.

So if you are a technician for Verizon or AT&T, or even some of our folks in Comcast-- where that guy Brian Robertson pulls down \$27 million a year. We could hire 400 more workers with just his salary. And when you look out there and you work on those wires and you work in those homes, make sure you are using Channellock pliers. And that's not an advertisement for Channellock, except they are made by Steelworkers. And when you buy those, they can buy an American-made car because their wages are better than those made by Chinese workers across the ocean.

And when you are out driving, if you are using EZ Pass, you are taking a job away from somebody. Can you not spend 30 seconds to pay that toll to keep somebody at work? If you shop at a union grocery store instead of Walmart, you are paying that person a middle-class wage, and that person can then go buy those other American-made goods.

So it's incredibly important that we continue to support each other. The rising tide lifts all boats. By the way, there is a reason that we have good wages-- because we bargain. And if we don't bargain, then we are left to beg, and that money goes to the CEOs instead of the workers' pockets. So we've got to organize. We've got to make sure that there are more union members out there.

There is a reason Democrats vote with union members-- because we can elect them or un-elect them because we have the density. The further away you move from union density, the more right-wing politicians get. So if we are not organizing, those politicians aren't going to do the right thing because they believe in it; they are going to do the right thing because they are worried about their jobs. So we've got to organize. We've got to keep the fight up.

If we don't organize, we are nothing. We will lose our power. It is incredibly important that we stick together, that we fight, and that we grow. And remember, America works best when we say "Union Yes!" Thank you. (Applause)

#### TEMPORARY CHAIR KMETYK: Thank you, Rick.

I am very proud to introduce a true leader for our members and locals in District 2-13, our Vice President, Ed Mooney. (Applause and cheers) Ed first joined CWA in 1988 and has been a big part of our union ever since. He was elected President of Local 13000 in 2005, and was elected to lead District 13 on June 24, 2008.

In 2010 after Convention delegates approved the merger of District 2-13, he became Vice President of that district. Ed? (Applause)

VICE PRESIDENT ED MOONEY (District 2-13): Thank you, Sandy. Thank you for everything you do for our members in District 2-13 and for all CWA.

Good morning, everyone. Welcome to Pittsburgh and welcome to District 2-13. (Applause) This morning I have the privilege of introducing our President, Larry Cohen. I have been a part of this union for a long time. I've worked with a lot of different unions and a lot of different groups, and I know that,

when it comes to representing our members and all working families, there is no stronger voice, no stronger leader than our President, Larry Cohen. No one works harder. (Applause)

During our 18-month-long fight at Verizon, Larry never let up. He was in that fight from start to finish. That made all the difference during negotiations and during our two-week strike. No one was more committed and worked harder to get those fired workers their jobs back.

Larry's leadership matters for us at CWA and for the Labor Movement if we are going to make the changes in our country that working families need. We shouldn't be a nation where a CEO is paid 384 times what the average worker earns. We shouldn't be a nation where workers can't get good health care. We shouldn't be a nation where teachers and public workers are under attack. We shouldn't be that nation, but today we are.

The good news is, it doesn't have to stay that way. We have all heard Larry say this: "It's hard but not impossible, and we have done hard before." He believes it, and we can believe it, too.

Larry recognized early on that we cannot win these big fights alone-- not CWA alone, not the union movement alone. But when we join forces with other groups and allies who are facing similar threats or struggles to make gains, we can make a difference and we can change America.

It was Larry's vision that got the ball rolling and is leading the Democracy Initiative that now has a hundred different groups working together on common issues and shared concerns who are determined to overcome the barriers to democracy that we face.

This work may seem very different from what we did 20 years ago, but it's what we must to do to make any progress in our country today. And Larry Cohen is recognized as a leader who will get us there.

I am proud to serve with him in our great union. It is my privilege to introduce my friend and our President, Larry Cohen.

... The delegates arose and applauded at length ...

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Thank you. Thank you all. Thank you, Ed.

In these next minutes I want to try to do two things. I want to talk about our bargaining power that is clearly under attack, and what we can do by building that broader movement that Ed talked about, not just because it's the right thing to do, but because it's the best chance to build that bargaining power back. And I know that across this room and across this union, that's what's on the minds of our members. And so we will try to connect everything here in these two days and in these next minutes to exactly that.

Seventy-five years ago, the National Federation of Telephone Workers was formed after its predecessor was ruled to be a "company union" by the newly-constituted at the time National Labor Relations Board. Ten years later, several organizations-- including the Telephone Workers Organizing Committee active in the South, and other independent unions-- united to form CWA, joining IUE, NABET, and the Newspaper Guild in the CIO. Others here among us, such as AFA and the Printing Sector, then ITU, were part of the AFL.

At that time, our Public Sector members were in states that did not recognize Public Sector unions, as most still do not today, including our members in Texas, Mississippi, West Virginia, Virginia, Tennessee, Oklahoma, and more. So we are and always have been a union from many sources and traditions.

We value the power we create when mobilized. We value the power we have built as we organize. We are willing to explore new ideas as we seek new strategies. This was true when our families' standard of living was rising from those early days through the '70s, but it's just as true today as that standard of living barely hangs on.

The triple threat of Founding President Joe Beirne became the "CWA Triangle" of representation, organizing, and political action with President Morty Bahr. Morty is well but missing us and his first convention since 1954. He continues to help lead the Elderly Housing Development Corporation providing senior housing. Secretary-Treasurer Emeritus Barbara Easterling is not here with us today, but continues to lead the Alliance of Retired Americans.

With us is former Executive Vice President, Secretary-Treasurer, and District 4 Vice President Jeff Rechenbach who played a crucial role in the successful re-election of Ohio Senator Sherrod Brown last November. (Applause) Jeff continues to be the activist he was when he first joined CWA.

As we begin, I salute you, the leaders of our union, the delegates to this Convention, the members of our bargaining committees, the staff of our union, and the members of our Executive Board. In our history of 75 years, or whatever point before or after that that marks the origins of your local, our very survival has never been harder. These are difficult times. But you are confronting those challenges, not shrinking from them or sugarcoating them.

Ask our delegates from Wisconsin, Indiana, Ohio, and Michigan just how hard it is resisting the attacks from state government around bargaining rights. Ask our CenturyLink delegates from District 7 working through the acquisition of Qwest after US West, and now eight months battling for their first contract with their new owner.

Or, as Ed discussed, ask the Verizon members in the East striking for two weeks, not really for a contract at that time on strike but to force the company off the worst set of concessionary demands in our telecom history, and to bring that fight to the attention of our union and this nation, and then another year of bargaining and mobilizing and finally reaching an agreement that maintains our standard of living, with huge help from all of CWA and our allies.

Ask our AT&T members across the country working past expiration with constant mobilization and walkouts, or NABET-CWA members at ABC, working two years past expiration, now in ratification or in tentative agreement that will prevent imposed conditions.

Ask our US Airways flight attendants who, after bargaining for seven years just reached a new agreement, and are now battling to survive as the company has merged to become the new American Airlines.

Ask our public workers in New Jersey, in the fourth year with Chris Christie, the first of the rightwing governors who stripped all health care bargaining rights. Now our members face \$4,000-a-year premiums for family health care.

Or ask New York Times journalists engaging in unprecedented job actions to secure their agreement, or our manufacturing members in IUE-CWA, faced now with the worst trade agreement ever, the so-called Trans-Pacific Partnership, or TPP, despite a Democratic White House.

Or ask those among us without any bargaining rights who are struggling to join CWA to even have the ability to negotiate with their employer. Is all this too much to bear? Is it too negative? Is it hopeless, not just hard? No. No, it's not, because we make a difference.

In your packets when you registered was the CWA News, and inside the CWA News were the highlights of the last two years. Check out this list. Yes, it's hard. But every sector, division, district had

successes. It's hard, but it's not hopeless. Hard, yes; hopeless, no. Witness organizing gains at AFA-CWA, and we welcome here 9,300 fight attendants from United-Continental. (Applause)

We will hear much more about organizing on all fronts tomorrow. Hard, yes; hopeless, no. We ratified contracts for over 100,000 members at AT&T, for 38,000 at Verizon, 10,000 at GE, 750 nurses at Mercy Hospital, 750 journalists at Bloomberg's Bureau of National Affairs, just to name a few. Hard, yes; hopeless no.

Movement-building and creative mobilization, like Reimagine CBC led by the Canadian Media Guild-- young activists, community leaders, literally reinventing the mission of their main employer, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Hard, yes; hopeless, no.

Look at the coalition work-- "Stand Up for Ohio," led by District 4 partnering with the Center for Community Change, the Ohio Organizing Collaborative, and continuing the amazing work of Seth Rosen, linking our members with those in community organizations in a unified strategy. Or the "No Knives on Planes" campaign by flight attendants, fighting for their safety and our safety when they fly. Hard, yes; hopeless, no. (Applause)

In these highlights, we have nearly a hundred positive examples involving the majority of our members in some way, and there are many more. Hard, but not hopeless.

Central to what we do is our bargaining power. But, if we define our fight as solely against our union employers, the nonunion employers in virtually all of our sectors and industries get a free ride. And the nonunion employers are growing stronger in every industry where we work. Unfettered, they drive down working conditions and pay. There is no check or counterbalance. And in turn that undermines what we can achieve.

That is why we have focused on organizing and organizing rights as part of our collective bargaining strategy, not separate. We know if we only focus on the union employers because we can, because we have the right to bargain, and we fail to focus on the nonunion employers or on the antiunion political environment, or fail to recognize that there are limits to what union employers will agree to in negotiations, we are not really confronting our reality and we will not succeed.

This doesn't mean that we don't fight for the best deal possible. But as we know, bargaining is about making a difference. Today it is certainly not about justice. Bargaining takes place as employers increase their profits by holding down our wages and benefits. Bargaining takes place in an environment of comparisons to the nonunion industry and the global economy. Balancing our aspirations, our dreams, for a better contract with the reality of dominant nonunion industries is our greatest challenge in 75 years.

Our Bargaining Committee members have become heroes. When elected, none know how long they will be there, except that they are there one day longer than the employers' resistance. As I said, every district, division and sector face tough, prolonged, almost impossible bargaining challenges.

I would now like every delegate here who has served as a Bargaining Committee member in the past two years to stand and be recognized, and please remain standing. Every Bargaining Committee member, stand and remain standing. (Applause)

I would like for all the staff who have worked with these committees to stand-- all the staff that have worked in bargaining, stand up.

Now members of this Executive Board who have worked day and night, supporting these committees and staff to win the best possible contracts for our members, please stand as well. (Applause)

Join me in recognizing all of them. (Applause and cheers)

At this Convention, we will look at ways to strengthen our union and also help shape the world around us. We can't pretend, we can't think that we can fix our bargaining solely by perfecting CWA. As we debate internal structural changes that we will make as a union, we must do it with respect. We sometimes tear each other down, when to succeed we must lift each other up.

Whether we adopt one proposal or another, the Executive Board's or not, bargaining will be just as brutal and we may often disagree. That's what our democracy is here. It is simple to shout, "We need to fight harder or bargain longer or even strike." It's simple to say, "With better leaders we would have better contracts."

But we must evaluate our bargaining results in terms of what others around us are achieving. We bargain in an America with falling wages, health care losses, and the elimination of pensions. We can definitely coordinate better, as we have and as we will, whether everyone agrees or not. But as I said a few years ago to Ron Gettlefinger, then the UAW President, during the near collapse of the auto industry in 2009, "Ron, your negotiations are much harder than what Walter Reuther faced."

Reuther was leading a growing labor movement with increasing political power and millions of workers with a history of standing up and fighting back. These are hard times. But in hard times, there are times of resistance. We learn what makes a difference and what does not. We learn how to create hope. We learn who our true brothers and sisters are. We learn about solidarity, about caring, about love. And it's our solidarity and love for each other that will carry us through this dark period in our history.

No group in our union, or perhaps anywhere, better captures the spirit of resistance than Local 1109 and the 300 Brooklyn CableVision technicians who battled to form their union and win an NLRB election. (Applause) And now, for over a year they have been bargaining for their first contract.

After a year in negotiations getting nowhere, 22 technicians decided to use CableVision's opendoor policy and go in to see their manager and asking to meet. Instead of meeting, the manager told them that they were considered to be on strike and were therefore fired and permanently replaced. Local 1109 and District 1 mobilized all of New York City, literally, with amazing rallies and support from nearly every elected official, and eventually all 22 came back to work. (Applause and cheers)

But the fight for that first contract goes on, and they are here today to ask for your support, not just for themselves but for all workers like them-- in our union, in other unions, and for workers with no union at all. Welcome Jerome Thompson, Paul McDaniel, and Shatoya Thomas and listen to the beat. (Applause)

... The group entered the stage and performed a truly relevant rap song about sticking together and fighting for workers' rights ... (Applause and cheers)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Okay, we are going to do this together. I actually did this for my two daughters when they were little. They asked, "Why are you always angry?"

I said, "Well, it's about Wall Street."

So let's listen to the beat. Ready? I'm ready!

... In unison the rappers shouted out about "Wall Street, Wall Street, listen-- listen to the beat. Wall Street must think I'm some kind of fool." ... (Applause and cheers)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** All right. No competition there for those three. But you can feel that spirit. We can feel that energy. Jerome and Paul, in that bargaining unit, Shatoya worked there before as a customer service agent. And the support and the love from this union, from Local 1109 and District 1, are the best in America.

But the problem is, in today's bargaining and political climate, it takes that kind of spirit and that kind of effort and enormous bravery to form a union. It shouldn't. It wasn't always that way. But today we find that the path to organizing that built our union is largely blocked. And you can see on the chart with the U.S. on the end in red, the lowest bargaining coverage of virtually any democracy, and we only have several of them there. That's the famous six percent, six and a half percent private sector, and now dropping is the public sector, so it's 12 percent overall.

We don't show that chart because it's hopeless; we show that chart because we are not where the global economy is. We are not where most democracies are. And our challenge here, as daunting as it may seem, is to figure out how we take hope from CableVision technicians, how we take hope from workers in the rest of the world.

The most important factors that influence our own bargaining possibilities are, in fact, the percentage who are organized in each industry and in our nation and are covered by collective bargaining. And as I said, ours is the lowest in the developed world. That's why that story of Peabody Coal, why retiree healthcare in our union, as well, and pensions are under attack. And throughout the nation they are disappearing.

But not in Germany; not in Brazil where unions and democracy are rising up. In those nations, real wages after inflation are also rising while, except for union workers, in this country wages are actually falling.

One amazing story: Brazilian bank workers CONTRAF-CUT, a union in Sao Paulo, Brazil, alone there are almost half a million of them. Today those bank workers in Brazil, mostly customer service workers, back office workers, earn more than bank workers in the United States.

And the Brazilian bank workers, recognizing that, have allocated \$300,000 to help CWA organize bank workers here. (Applause) They realize that when they work for Bank of New York or Wells Fargo in Sao Paulo, those companies are based here. And if workers here have no rights, that sets limits on what they can gain.

Our traditional answer to building power in our industries is organizing, but that does grow harder and harder because of this disgusting employer opposition. So we devised together our strategy to engage in political action, to change organizing rights. If we change organizing rights, it increases our bargaining power, improves our bargaining, back to that percentage that was on that chart.

But here, too, we run into road blocks set up by Corporate America, the US Chamber of Commerce, the one percent and their allies. Remember just a few years ago, 2008, President Obama ran on a program to enact the Employee Free Choice Act. That bill passed overwhelmingly in the House of Representatives, but not in the U.S. Senate even though it had majority support. It wasn't debated for one second because the Senate rules, which have grown worse and worse, require 60 votes just to put the bill on the floor for discussion.

For two years, I have been asked frequently why CWA is involved in Senate rules-- boring, boring, boring. It seems distant from these fights in front of us. I have been asked, "We need to focus on our pay and on our health care. Why are we out there on Senate rules?" And this is the beginning of this discussion on this Democracy Movement and how it relates directly to our bargaining that's on our minds constantly.

And I answer, "If we don't change the Senate rules, we will never get-- never, and don't let any politician tell us differently-- we will never get health care legislation, the kind we really need." Health care at the bargaining table will continue to be only about givebacks, since nonunion employers across the U.S. are dumping health care in droves. If we don't change the Senate rules, we can't pass anything close to the Employee Free Choice Act.

And so while we celebrate those CableVision technicians, it shouldn't be that way. And if hundreds of thousands were joining our union as they would, our bargaining would be going up as it was when it was going up.

Even worse now, if we don't change the Senate rules, this President's five nominations for the National Labor Relations Board that are sitting there now will not be confirmed, and that means the unfair practice charges from our bargaining will mean nothing. The failure of the U.S. Senate to confirm those five members means there will not be a Democratic majority in the NLRB, and that no new NLRB rules will be adopted for organizing or anything else. And we can't accept that.

And that is why we are trying and are, in fact, leading labor and going to our allies with the democracy initiatives that Ed talked about, to take a stand and demand that the Democratic leadership step up and confirm the members of the NLRB. And right now and here, we must send a clear message that we will not settle for two Democrats and two Republicans. And that's what they have in store for us. We will not settle for that. We demand a Democratic majority on the NLRB. (Applause)

And that will mean that Harry Reid will have to do what the Republican majority leader did in 2005. He will have to take the floor and say to the Republicans, "I am going to change the rules now in the middle of the Congress. And as we all know, it would have been much easier to do on the first day. But I'm going to change the rules now unless you confirm those NLRB nominations, more than two dozen judges that have been held up, the head of the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau. You have a choice, Republican minority: either confirm them all, or we are going to change the rules so, as it should be, by majority we can confirm the President's nominations."

And again, that sounds boring. It sounds maybe even too hard. But as we sit here and as we debate so much that will be before us about movement-building, it's not abstract. It's about serious fightsin this case with the Democratic Senate.

Everyone tells us every two years in federal elections, elect them, elect them, elect them. In 2012, we elected two more of them, and then they didn't change the rules. And they set up this situation where first a Court of Appeals ruled that the recess appointments were unconstitutional, and now they have no rules as it stands to get the three Democrats confirmed.

Our members that are hurting from this bargaining crisis need to understand those connections. And we will be prepared here to go into every state where those Democrats are not taking action, ready to fight for those confirmations, and we will take over their office. We put them on notice right now. We will stand up, sit down in their office, and we will sit there until we get a commitment that they will confirm a Democratic majority on the National Labor Relations Board. (Applause)

No more excuses. And that's only a start. In 2010 the Supreme Court ruled in Citizens United that corporations were people. Imagine that. And money was speech-- a total perversion of our democracy. In the federal election last November, \$7 billion was spent, up a billion from 2008. That billion was not from working class people. It was all from the one percent. The super wealthy and their corporate allies are buying the ability to block our legislative agenda that would improve our bargaining status and organizing rights.

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce, in the last 25 years, has taken full control of the Republican Party's economic agenda. And sadly, with the donations of the one percent, they heavily influence the

Democrats as well. Think about this: Every open Senate election on average now is \$40 million-- \$40 million.

This is why, as Ed mentioned, we helped form, as one of the four conveners, the Democracy Initiative. We joined with the Sierra Club, the NAACP, and Greenpeace. And now, almost a hundred other groups have joined-- key labor, environmental, faith, and women's organizations.

We must stop the pollution of big money. Our battle cry is "Money Out, Voters In." "Money Out, Voters In."

The power of the one percent grew further when their political allies in 30 states in the last two years since we met began to purge voter registration roles, making it more difficult for the poor, the young, and the old to vote. This is voter suppression. It's undemocratic, and we must stop it as well.

These are three of the four cornerstones of this Democracy Movement: Change the Senate rules, big money out of politics, win universal voter registration so all citizens can vote. On average, 70 percent of American citizens are registered. That's also, just like bargaining coverage, the lowest of any democracy in the world. Brazil-- a hundred percent. Australia-- a hundred percent. In all those other countries we saw on the graph, voter registration is in the 90s. That missing 30 percent, those are working class people. Those are our voters, and it's a deliberate strategy to hold down registration, to hold down our voice.

The fourth part of our Democracy Movement is immigration reform. Last week the U.S. Senate began to consider a new immigration policy that includes a path to citizenship for 11 million immigrants. Our democracy work includes support for a path to citizenship-- not just because it is a critical human rights issue, but because those 11 million new citizens would be our voters. They are working class voters. We need to support changes that will help secure our economic future just as much as immigrants need our support to achieve a path to citizenship.

Please join me now in welcoming Daniel Rivera from Local 7019 in Phoenix, Arizona, and hearing his family's brave story of their march to citizenship.

Welcome, Daniel.

**DELEGATE DANIEL RIVERA (Local 7019):** Good morning, brothers and sisters. I am a credit consultant for CenturyLink. I am also an immigrant that came to this country illegally.

Soon after I was born in Chihuahua, Mexico, my father realized that hard work and good financial responsibility wasn't enough to take care of his family properly. He decided to leave his family. It was the hardest decision he ever made. Five days on the road, walking from Chihuahua, he made it to Greeley, Colorado. He took a farm job there, worked 12, 14 hours a day, seven days a week, one or two days off during the month.

My father was happy, but he missed his family. He convinced my mother to take the same trip. My little sister and myself and my mother, we walked across the desert. It was risky, but not doing anything and not being united was unimaginable.

Applying for legal entry back then was as impossible as it is now. The U.S. Government didn't consider my parents a priority. They didn't have special skills, and they didn't have high degrees. My mother agreed to the dangerous journey. My father saved his money and paid a coyote to bring me and my mother and my sister into the country.

I was six years old, my sister was two. I still remember the intimidating coyote with scars on his face and his arms. The journey to the border was in August through the desert. We walked for three

days until we ran out of water. My mother carried my sister. She was exhausted, dehydrated. She collapsed several times. We were desperate, extremely scared. If we didn't get water soon, we wouldn't make it out alive. We would become one of the thousands of people crossing the border that die every year.

My mother saw a well, a private well, and decided to get some water with a broken container. It saved our lives. We eventually made it to Phoenix into the arms of my father. We were all crying; it was very emotional. My sister suffered kidney failure because of dehydration.

Once in the United States, my parents worked in laundry services for low wages in intense heat. They worked six, seven days a week, but they were happy. They were able to take care of their family, provide food and shelter.

In 1986, President Reagan passed the Immigration Reform Control Act. We applied for citizenship. We registered to vote, and in 2008 my family voted. That was another emotional moment.

My immigration story is no different than the other 11 million undocumented currently in the country. Look at me, you see them. They are just like me, and we are just like you, working people trying to take care of our families.

I am proud that my union is on the front lines of immigration reform, pushing for a real path to citizenship. (Applause)

I am a union activist because who would I be, not to want for others what has been given to me-citizenship and the right to join a union? My children, Diego and Daniel, they are both citizens, and I am grateful every day for the future they have been given.

Thank you, in unity.

... The delegates arose and applauded ....

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Thankfully, most of our families did not travel through the desert under conditions like Daniel's. Most of us who are here are the descendents of immigrants who made that trip aspiring for that same better life. Unless our families were forced here as slaves or indentured servants or we are Native Americans, our immigration story is one of seeking the American Dream.

Most of our stories are like my own-- families that came here before this nation had any immigration law. Nearly everyone who came here by ship or crossed the Rio Grande before 1920 was legal, and within five years had an easy path to citizenship. Think about that. It's worth repeating. Nearly everyone here comes from a family that, the minute they set foot in this country, they were considered legal and in five years had an easy path to citizenship.

In order to restrict immigration, not from Mexico but from Eastern and Southern Europe, borders were established in the U.S. in the 1920s, and then more quotas. The right wing talk machine today, paid for by Corporate America-- that's who sponsors the shows, conservative billionaires-- pits us against each other on this issue, just as they have for 200 years, in order to prevent economic change and economic justice.

But now the American Dream is at stake for all of us and our children, as well as for new immigrants. If we stay divided based on immigration status or race or faith, we have no chance to build the movement of 50 million that we desperately need, even if our only goal is to restore our bargaining power.

In front of you is this booklet which many of you have seen before. No worries, we are not going through the whole booklet. But turn to page 11. It's on the screen as well. "Democracy and Economic Justice," and this picture shows the link between the democracy issues on the left, the blocks in blue, and the economic issues we have focused on for eight years. The core message here is that, whether in bargaining or politically, we can't achieve our economic goals unless we are also working to fix the democracy.

These democracy blocks-- and you can see them there on the left: money in politics, broken Senate rules, no path to legalization for immigrants, voter suppression instead of universal voter registration-- block our work and our bargaining on jobs and trade, healthcare, retirement security and bargaining & organizing rights, just as they do for our partners. And that's why they have come together with us to build the Democracy Initiative.

Even for those among us-- again worth repeating-- solely focused on collective bargaining, and maybe the majority of our members joining the union are solely focused on collective bargaining, we need to connect this so that we have a path. You see it there, seven to ten years, the arrow. If this isn't the best path, we will come up with new ones together. But we can't sit here, like we are in a foxhole playing defense, when we know that the dice are loaded. We know the rules are fixed. That's what this Convention will be about in many ways. Even though, again, improving our lives through collective bargaining will always be the primary purpose of this union.

So there are two key elements to this strategy-- somewhat new, somewhat untried. First, we must act different politically. And second, we must build this movement of 50 million.

Political action: What's different? We can't continue doing the same thing. We can't keep hearing every election is the most important one ever and expect different results. We believe more and more that we need to build what today I will call a "Progressive Tea Party," not just elect more Democrats. (Applause)

If we keep choosing candidates based on who is better or who is the lesser of two evils, things are going to keep getting worse. If even the better candidates often vote against working families, why should we care? We are not an ATM machine that Democratic politicians use to fund their campaigns while making empty promises, and then after the election don't come across on our issues because they have gotten money from the dark side. (Applause)

We need and we will seek out primary elections and challenge those Democrats who are not on our program. (Applause) We will find candidates and only support candidates who stand with us and are ready to fight for change. (Applause)

And that will take your efforts, not my words. Many among us, even in labor, will shrink from that and say, "How can you do that at a time like this?" The question is: How can we not do it at a time like this? (Applause)

So, the new Triangle brochure is largely the same. It's supposed to be up to the screen but-- here it comes. The third side of the Triangle is now movement-building, not simply community and political action, as our founder described it.

Seventy-five years ago when CWA originated as the Federation of Telephone Workers, there was a clear path to bargaining rights through organizing and through political action. That third side then was about union citizenship, supporting the New Deal and that democracy. But today that path is blocked.

We can't accept these rules that are fixed. We must return to our progressive roots and build a new movement that will create a new path to achieve positive change.

Turn to page 21 in the booklet. You'll see a list. There's a lot missing here, but you get the idea. Some mix of us with these groups adds up to more than the 50 million that would be a majority voting in nearly any election.

This won't be easy, it won't be quick, because the challenges are monumental. But they are not impossible; they are not hopeless. This is where the choices each of you make and what you do matter.

Minutes ago I waved the Highlights. That's where we start. On the left pages of this book shaded in blue are your stories-- movement-building stories from our locals and our communities, taking action to the streets, not just electoral and political work.

The website for our movement-building work is on the screen, CWAvoices.org. Many of your stories are already up there, and everyone here can record a story at the booth. Check out that website. Tell us how you are taking up the challenge, write your own story and post it there so we can share these stories, but, more importantly, be inspired and look at organizing in new ways.

We must commit to movement-building as hard as that is. We must recognize that it will take years of work to get back to where we were. It's hard, but it's not hopeless. Together we must implement this strategy throughout this union.

We are not losing sight of our key bargaining issues-- fair pay, health care, retirement security-but we also need to look deep inside ourselves. In this nation, without the link to a broader movement, we will fail. We are not telling the truth to our members if our whole program is about the next contract when we know that bargaining rights all around us have been crushed, and that every employer is looking at what are the conditions and how they can make more money off of giving less.

Many of our members may not see this as an appropriate strategy, so we need to engage them in this dialogue and make the case that their standard of living, the lives of our children and theirs, will not improve unless we grow and continue to build this broader democracy/economic justice movement. In order just to sustain our contracts, we need a movement to change organizing rights so we can build power in our industries.

There will be limited progress without this struggle. But on the other hand, imagine the political movement that creates something like the Employee Free Choice Act that had a President ready to sign it, had a House that passed it, had a majority in the Senate. And because they forced us back, do we give up?

Those CableVision technicians aren't giving up, even though the NLRB has yet to do a thing to support them, and now there is no NLRB to do it. They are not giving up. They are standing up and fighting back.

Imagine if CableVision and the rest of Comcast and the wireless companies were organized for telecom members, what that would mean. Imagine for manufacturing workers if we had organizing rights, not a class war to get a contract, what would be happening in manufacturing across this country. Imagine that in the media sector or the public sector where bargaining rights are being crushed instead of lifted up.

And that's what this Convention will largely be about. You will hear in just a few minutes our Defense Fund Committee report, and then later in the next two days many of our resolutions will be about movement-building. And many here may feel that it's hard or distant, but without it, it may be hopeless. The Defense Fund came up with the idea-- not the Executive Board-- to move part of the investment income from the Members' Relief Fund to movement-building. And we will couple those funds with the Strategic Industry Fund and the General Fund and, most importantly, what you do every day in local unions, so that our union can play a major role in fighting for our economic agenda and transforming our industries as we have been doing.

Some may say, "This is too big a reach for CWA members," but this Executive Board and so many of you are saying, if not now, when? If we don't build a much deeper movement now, when? If we don't fight for universal voter registration and against suppression now, when?

If we don't demand that Democrats confirm an NLRB with a Democratic majority that will make decisions that support us now, when?

If we don't stand up for retiree health care not just in our own union but across the nation now, when? This is our time to take up this challenge. And if not now, when? (Applause)

As usual, today and tomorrow you will be debating critical issues with total respect for all viewpoints. But let's send a clear and strong message that we are standing up and fighting back. Let's send a message that we will continue to stand for change inside CWA and outside.

Our members must hear the message of Pittsburgh loud and clear. What do we do when we are under attack? We stand up, we fight back. We stand up, we fight back.

... The delegates arose and applauded, chanting "We stand up, we fight back" ...

**TEMPORARY CHAIR KMETYK:** Thank you again for the privilege and honor of serving as your Temporary Chair. This will be my last Convention as a local president, but I will commit to be on the line with all the retirees. I am so proud to be part of this great union. (Applause)

... The delegates arose and applauded ...

#### **TEMPORARY CHAIR KMETYK:** Thank you.

And I am so proud to have had the opportunity to work with President Cohen and all of you. Together all of us are making the future better.

I now turn the gavel over to President Cohen who will assume the position of Permanent Chair under the Rules of this convention. (Applause)

... President Cohen assumed the Chair ...

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Thank you, Sandy. Thanks for your leadership, your friendship, your love, and your amazing work for this union. Thank you. (Applause)

Now I ask the Credentials Committee to come to the platform. Here they come.

While they are coming up, I will quickly, really quickly, read through the Use of the Microphones. It's a long script for something relatively straightforward.

#### **USE OF MICROPHONES**

Microphone No. 1, in front of me labeled "Motions," is for delegates to make motions. The telephone associated with this microphone is connected directly to our parliamentarians. They are seated immediately behind me. Will the parliamentarians stand as I call their names:

Richard Rosenblatt, PPMWS and District 7, Denver, Colorado Pat Shea, Headquarters Counsel, Washington, DC Mary O'Melveny, General Counsel, Washington, DC

#### Lela Klein, IUE-CWA General Counsel, Dayton, Ohio

When you pick up the telephone, you are to advise the parliamentarians of the motion you wish to make. They will give you a preliminary parliamentary ruling. If your motion is in order, the Chair will be advised, and you will be recognized.

Just to remind you, any motion is only in order during the report of the committee to which the motion is related. Resolutions can only be received during the Resolutions Committee Report. They come up several times. Constitutional proposals are for the Constitution Committee Report, et cetera.

If you disagree with a preliminary ruling, advise the parliamentarians. They will then bring that disagreement to the attention of the Chair. The Chair will make a ruling after which, if there is still disagreement, the matter can be placed before the Convention to determine whether or not the ruling is proper.

There is a microphone designated as the "Privilege" mike, Microphone No. 2. Use it to raise a point of order or a point of personal privilege. It, too, is connected to the parliamentarians.

Microphone No. 3 is the "For" microphone. Use it to be recognized to speak for any motion or issue before the Convention.

Microphone No. 4 is not the "For" mike; it's the "Against" mike. It's over there. Four is "Against." Use it to speak against an issue.

At the back of the hall, Microphone No. 5 is designated "Questions." Obviously, you know how to use that. We rotate these microphones under our rules.

Under our rules, there is a five-minute limit on any speech. There is a digital clock in front of the platform that indicates how much time you have. The microphone will be automatically turned off at five minutes.

In rotation, the movement will be from the "Motions" mike-- I already said this, okay.

As you go to any of the microphones, swipe your badge, lift the telephone, and tell the person who answers your name. You will be recognized in the order called for under our Rules. Start off with your name and Local number.

Let me introduce the people who will be answering as you call from Microphones 3, 4, and 5. They advise the Chair to recognize you. They are seated on my left, and are:

Vic Waller, CWA Rep., District 1 Velvet Hawthorne, CWA Rep., District 3 Donna Bentley, CWA Rep., District 6 Val Afanasiev, Administrative Director, District 9 Marian Needham, TNG-CWA Rep and Chair

The Five-Minute Rule-- they are watching the clock:

Laura Unger, CWA Staff Rep., Telecomm & Technology Lew Ellingson, CWA Staff Rep., District 7

During the course of our Convention, a verbatim record is kept. A complete set of proceedings will be e-mailed to you. You will have thirty days to review the record and report to us any errors you want corrected.

To help us with who is to be recognized and to be sure that we follow procedures as provided in the Constitution, each day we have two delegates come from the floor. For that purpose today we have: Rich Murray, President, Local 4501; and Randye Gilliam, Executive Committee Member, TNG-CWA Local 31003. Thank you both.

Okay, we got through that.

And there they are, the Credentials Committee. Thanks for all your work. I do that afterwards really, but I'll tell you twice.

Cori Gambini, Executive Vice President, CWA Local 1168 Debbie Helsley, President, Local 3805 Terez Woods, President, Local 4309 Joe Blanco, President Local 6360 Valentino Garcia, President, Local 7070 Orange Richardson, President, Local 9410 Mary Lou Schaffer, President, Local 13550 Tameka Rittenburg, Recording Secretary, IUE-CWA Local 81455

Now I will recognize the Chair of the Credentials Committee, Marge Krueger. I see the Co-chair, Don Rice. I will recognize him as well. Hi, Don.

**MARGE KRUEGER (Local 13000, Chair, Credentials Committee):** President Cohen, Delegates, Retirees, and Guests: I am pleased to announce on behalf of the Credentials Committee that the Committee has registered over 1,467 delegates, alternates, and guests to this 74th CWA Convention.

The Committee appreciates the assistance rendered by the Secretary-Treasurer's office, especially the help of the Information Systems and Membership Dues departments. With the assistance of the two departments mentioned, we are continuing to improve service to our delegates, alternates, retirees, and guests.

The Committee also wishes to thank the staff assigned to the Committee for their able assistance, and we especially appreciate the cooperation and the assistance of the delegates over the last three days as the Committee has worked to meet its assignment.

Since our last Convention, new locals have been added to the ranks. These locals are: 3645, 13345, 14170, 23045, 23861, 24461, 26042, and 27481. Let us welcome these locals. (Applause)

We shall be reporting on credentials in the following categories. Category 1, those credentials properly executed and received on time; Category 2, credentials properly executed but late; Category 3, improperly executed; Category 4A, proxy credentials properly executed but late; Category 4B, proxy credentials improperly executed; and Category 5, unusual circumstances.

In Category 1, there are 1,075 credentials properly executed and on time. The Committee moves that these delegates are seated.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** There is a motion before you, seconded from the floor. Seeing no discussion, all those in favor of the motion indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed. They are seated.

CHAIR KRUEGER: There are no Category 2 credentials.

There are three Category 3 credentials for Local 6143. The Committee moves these delegates not be seated.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** There is a motion before you. Seeing no delegates wishing to speak on the motion, all those in favor please indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed. The motion is adopted.

**CHAIR KRUEGER:** There are no Category 4A or 4B credentials, and there are no Category 5 credentials.

The Credentials Committee will be in session each day, one half hour prior to the opening of the Convention for the convenience of delegates and alternates in registering late arrivals, replacing lost badges, and handling other problems. Guests will continue to be registered immediately prior to and during each session for the remainder of the Convention.

Those delegates, other than Category 1, who have not been seated by action of this Convention, may present themselves to the Committee and obtain their proper badges. Other delegates who may have arrived late will also be served by the Committee shortly at the registration counters in the lobby.

Mr. President and delegates, this completes the Committee's report at this time. Thank you. (Applause)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Please thank the Credentials Committee for their many hours of work. It may seem simple to you, but they have been here for days. Thank you, Committee, and thank you Don and Marge, as always. (Applause)

Now I would like the Resolutions and Rules Committee to come to the podium.

Meanwhile, I thank the other staff that assisted as well who worked with the Credentials Committee. It's quite an army there on the credentials. And thanks to the Secretary-Treasurer's office as well.

So, on Resolutions and Rules, I just want to mention that before you are the resolutions which are obviously in numerical order. There is some possibility-- we try not to do it though-- to rearrange the order. I just want to mention that.

Now let me introduce the Resolutions and Rules Committee:

Kevin Sheil, President, CWA, Local 1103 and the Chair of the Committee Kim Gallardo, Executive Vice President, Local 4123 Judy Lugo, President, CWA Local 6186 David Hyde, President, CWA Local 7810 Penny Franklin, President, IUE-CWA Local 82160

I call on the Chair of the Committee.

**DELEGATE KEVIN SHEIL (Local 1103, Chair, Resolutions & Rules Committee):** Thank you, Mr. President.

#### HOURS OF CONVENTION

Rule VI (Hours of the Convention) of the Permanent Rules Governing Conduct of CWA Conventions provides that the hours of the Convention, recesses and other arrangements relating to the Convention, shall be established by resolutions or motions by each Convention.

Resolved: That the regular sessions of the 74th CWA Convention shall be as follows:

On Monday, April 22, 2013, the Convention shall be called to order at 9:00 a.m. The Convention shall be recessed for one and one-half hours beginning at approximately 12:00 noon and shall continue until the business of the day has been concluded.

On Tuesday, April 23, 2013, the Convention shall reconvene at 8:30 a.m. The Convention will be in recess for one and one-half hours beginning at approximately 12:00 noon and shall continue until the business of the day has been concluded.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Thanks, Kevin. The Rules are before us. All those in favor, please indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed. They are adopted.

I thank the Committee. They will be back several times. (Applause)

A delegate wishes to speak at Mike 2, the Privilege mike, Delegate Young.

**DELEGATE KIM YOUNG (Local 1104):** I rise before the brothers and sisters, now that we have all been seated and the Rules have been adopted.

A few years ago, we had a motion in place that information being passed out on the Convention floor and at Convention have a union bug on it. We have received information this morning that was passed out to all the delegates that does not have a union bug on it. I am disturbed by this and want to bring everyone's attention to it.

All the information that was put on the tables has a union bug on it. If you aren't aware of what a union bug looks like, look at the information in front of you with regard to all the rules and committees. Every bit of information has a union bug on it.

This information that was passed out does not have a union bug on it. (Applause) I am disturbed, and I would think that you would all be as well. Thank you.

#### **PRESIDENT COHEN:** Thank you, Kim.

Most unions have a Secretary-Treasurer whose function is what we come to next, the Finance Committee, but our Secretary-Treasurer is as committed to movement-building as anyone in the room, not just in words but in deeds. And I wanted to bring her before you initially in that way. She is going to be up here many times. But I couldn't be happier to have a Secretary-Treasurer who constantly talks about movement-building and constantly encourages our whole Executive Board and our union to stand up and fight back. I present to you our Secretary-Treasurer, Annie Hill. (Applause)

**CWA SECRETARY-TREASURER ANNIE HILL:** Good morning, brothers and sisters. I would ask the Finance Committee to the podium, but they are already here. And it is my honor to recognize the Finance Committee:

Terri Senich, Executive Secretary-Treasurer, CWA Local 13500, Chair of the Committee Lynn Johnson, President, CWA Local 9333

Dwayne Phillips, President, CWA Local 4400

Andreas Curlee, President, AFA-CWA Council 21, who unfortunately had to leave to attend to a personal matter.

I recognize the Chair, Terri Senich.

**DELEGATE TERRI SENICH (Local 13500, Chair, Finance Committee):** Thank you, Secretary-Treasurer Hill.

Dear sisters and brothers, your Finance Committee met in Washington, DC, on March 18th and 19th, 2013, and again on April 19th through the 21st, 2013, to review and recommend suggestions on the 2013-2014 CWA operating budget. Every supporting document requested was made available to us.

The Committee also reviewed the consolidated financial statements for the period that ended May 31st, 2012, prepared by the Certified Public Accounting firm of Calibre CPA Group. The auditors conducted their audit in accordance with the generally accepted accounting principles.

Your Finance Committee met in Washington, DC, on March 18-19, 2013, and again on April 19-21, 2013, to review and recommend suggestions on the 2013-2014 CWA Operating Budget. Every supporting document requested was made available to us. The Committee also reviewed the Consolidated Financial Statements for the period that ended May 31, 2012, prepared by the Certified Public Accounting firm of Calibre CPA Group. The Auditors conducted their audit in accordance with generally accepted accounting principles. In the accountant's opinion, the financial statements presented fairly, in all material respects, the financial position of the Communications Workers of America, AFL-CIO, CLC, as of May 31, 2012.

The Finance Committee carefully reviewed expenses paid out during the ten months of the 2012-2013 fiscal year, and would like to acknowledge the efforts of the districts, sectors and divisions who were able to stay within their administrative budgets.

We also reviewed the expenses paid within those administrative units which were more than one percent over their budget allocations and were satisfied with each of the explanations. It is clear to the Committee that difficult contract negotiations had a significant impact on expenses and applaud those administrative units that were able to keep expenses to within their allocations despite this challenge.

The Committee also recognizes the continued efforts that the national union has taken to try and help solidify our financial position through cost containment while maintaining necessary service to our membership.

The leasing of vacant space within the CWA National Headquarters building in Washington, DC, as well as the refinancing of existing building loans, has resulted in \$2 million of building income that will contribute towards a balanced budget for 2012-2013. An additional \$500,000 of building income will be used for some building updates that will allow for a more aggressive campaign to lease the remaining two percent of vacant space as well as on floors currently occupied by CWA employees, which will result in increased future income.

**DELEGATE LYNN JOHNSON:** The Finance Committee makes the following recommendations to further deal with our budgetary challenges:

\* Steps taken by the Executive Board have improved the union's financial position, but we need to continue to closely monitor spending to ensure that our income forecasts match our cash flow and that our expenses do not exceed our income.

\* Each administrative unit must keep their expenses within their generated dues income and budget allocations with further recognition of the need for all units to continue to contribute to the ongoing programs and administration of the national union.

\* All locals must be in compliance with the CWA Constitution and be current with their dues remittance obligations. The Committee recommends that the Secretary-Treasurer take steps that may be necessary to keep locals in compliance.

\* Each administrative unit and local must continue to aggressively pursue organizing along with signing up pending agency fee payers and non-members, particularly those working in Telecom, Mobility, and the Public, HealthCare and Education sectors. These efforts alone have a potential of generating close to \$5 million in revenue for locals and \$3 million for the national union.

\* The Finance Committee supports the recommendations of the Defense Fund Oversight Committee to roll the Defense Fund into the Strategic Industry Fund and the funding of a new CWA Growth silo with investment earnings from the Members' Relief Fund. We believe these recommendations will help put us in better position to grow our union and build power to better face the ever increasing challenges that will continue to be before us.

\* While we recognize and acknowledge the growing costs associated with negotiating collective bargaining agreements, we recommend that the CWA leadership, at all levels, review our process and develop ways whenever possible to minimize our expenses without diminishing our ability to achieve good agreements.

\* Any administrative unit, whose expenses exceed more than one percent of their budget allocation, must provide a reasonable explanation for the cause of the overage to the Finance Committee and should be prepared to present that explanation to the Convention delegates.

**DELEGATE PHILLIPS:** A balanced budget for the 2013-2014 Fiscal Year does not mean that our financial challenges no longer exist. Labor is continuously being attacked and organizing rights denied. We must put all efforts into movement building and continue to prepare ourselves in every way to face every challenge. The Finance Committee supports the CWA officers and Executive Board members' work to design road maps that can help get all of us there. We particularly applaud the following financial action items:

\* The AFA-CWA for their renewed commitment at the 2013 Board of Directors meeting to contribute to our national programs.

\* The creation of a task force that was created in 2012 to provide scenario planning in anticipation of potential further passage of right-to-work laws, loss of payroll deduction of union dues, and/or requirements to re-sign members each year.

\* Continued discussions with locals on additional revenue generating ideas.

The 2013-2014 Finance Committee would like to thank President Larry Cohen, Secretary-Treasurer Annie Hill, Assistant to the Secretary-Treasurer Teri Pluta, and their staff for their time and effort in aiding the Committee in the review, development and preparation of this year's report.

The Committee also wishes to thank representatives in all CWA districts, national units and headquarters for their ongoing efforts to achieve the financial targets outlined in the 2013-2014 Budget.

We respectfully request delegate approval.

**SECRETARY-TREASURER HILL:** You have heard the motion from the Finance Committee. Is there a second?

... Seconded from the floor ...

**SECRETARY-TREASURER HILL:** Seeing no one at the mikes, the question before you is the adoption of the Finance Committee report. All those in favor signify by raising your right hand. Down hands. Opposed, same sign. The Finance Committee report is adopted.

I would like to thank the Committee for their hard work. (Applause)

May I ask the Defense Fund Oversight Committee to come to the podium, please.

While everyone is getting situated, it is my honor to recognize the Defense Fund Oversight Committee. And not to take away from any of the other committees, but they have worked very hard throughout the year.

Now that they are seated, let me introduce them:

Arthur Cheliotes, President, Public Workers, Chair; Terry Daly, District 1 John Wills, District 2 Richard Honeycutt, District 3 Edwin Williams, District 4 James Allen, District 6 Cecilia Valdez, District 7 Joan Gifford, District 9, Vice Chair Sandy Kmetyk, District 13 John Lewis, IUE-CWA Jeff Heisey, Airline Sector Bill O'Meara, Media Sector

And before I turn it over to the Chair, I would like to take a personal point of privilege and thank two people who are not running this time and are long-serving committee members: Terry Daly, District 1, and James Allen, District 6. I want to thank them for their long years of service. And Sandy is not running. I apologize. Sandy Kmetyk, District 2-13.

All right. I recognize the Chair, Arthur Cheliotes.

# DELEGATE ARTHUR CHELIOTES (Local 1180, Chair, Defense Fund Oversight Committee): Thank you.

For the purpose of reading the report, I turn it over to the District 1 delegate, Terry Daly.

**DELEGATE TERRY DALY (Local 1101):** Thank you, Arthur.

#### DEFENSE FUND OVERSIGHT COMMITTEE REPORT - APRIL 2013

Through resolutions and rules adopted by various CWA conventions, the Defense Fund Oversight Committee (DFOC) is charged with the responsibility to review activities associated with the Defense Fund, the Robert Lilja Members' Relief Fund and the Strategic Industry Fund.

The DFOC is authorized to examine receipts, disbursements, investments and the administrative policies associated with the funds. The DFOC may also, with a two-thirds vote, affirm CWA Executive Board actions that are consistent with the rules governing certain funds. The DFOC is required to report its findings to each convention and make recommendations to the convention where appropriate.

The Defense/Members' Relief Fund Oversight Committee met on December 10-12, 2012, and January 8-9, 2013, in Washington, DC. The Committee reviewed activities associated with The Robert Lilja Members' Relief Fund (RLMRF), the Defense Fund (DF) and Strategic Industry Fund (SIF).

#### DELEGATE RICHARD HONEYCUTT:

#### **INVESTMENTS**

Prior to submitting this biennial report, the DFOC met with representatives of the Marco Consulting Group (MCG) to review investment performance for the Robert Lilja Members' Relief Fund and the Defense Fund. MCG was selected to serve as investment advisors and co-fiduciaries on these funds effective June 1, 2009, after a Request for Proposals was issued for these services in the spring of 2009. MCG first presented an investment analysis to the DFOC at the CWA Convention in June 2009, and has subsequently updated the Committee on investment performance at meetings in Washington, DC.

Investment Performance Services was selected as an independent monitor and is responsible for monitoring and verifying that fund investments are made in accordance with guidelines established by the President and Secretary-Treasurer, who are trustees of the funds.

As of March 31, 2013, the RLMRF had a value of \$444,787,000. This represents a \$23.3 million or 5.2 percent increase over the fund's \$421,474,000 balance at March 31, 2012. During the 2012 calendar year the investment gain/loss equaled \$28,975,536.

According to RLMRF guidelines, when the fund's assets fall below the floor of \$377,484,108, the quarter hour dues that would otherwise be sent to the Strategic Industry Fund are retained by the RLMRF. Once the target floor balance is achieved, the quarter hour of dues is redirected to the SIF and the RLMRF's growth is fueled by investment returns and asset appreciation. The RLMRF did not fall below the floor during the period from March 31, 2012 to March 31, 2013.

The Defense Fund had a balance of \$11,584,000 as of March 31, 2013, a \$366,000 or 3.3 percent increase from its \$11,218,000 balance as of March 31, 2012. While the fund experienced \$2.2 million in gains during the 12-month period, \$1.7 million was distributed.

#### DELEGATE ED WILLIAMS:

#### THE ROBERT LILJA MEMBERS' RELIEF FUND

The balance of the RLMRF as of March 31, 2013 is \$444,787,000.

Last year, when Hurricane Sandy devastated the homes of our members, the DFOC authorized up to \$4 million from the MRF to the CWA Disaster Relief Fund for member relief, repeating the action taken by delegates after Hurricane Katrina.

The DFOC reviewed the current mortgage rates and, in light of the decline in commercial mortgage rates, proposed to delegates at the 2011 Convention, a reduction in new mortgages from the previous rate of 7.73 to 6 percent for a 15-year fixed-rate loan or 6.5 for a 30-year fixed-rate loan. The fund is still the first lienholder and the loan may be up to 80 percent of current appraised value and with a clear title. Those holding current mortgages can apply to modify an existing loan. Locals who wish to refinance to the new rate must obtain a new appraisal for their building and sign new paperwork. Financial records will be reviewed prior to approval. A list of these mortgages is on page 2 of our report. The total loan amount for mortgages held by locals total \$14,049,974.98, of which is still owed \$11,820,806.34.

THE ROBERT LILJA MEMBERS' RELIEF FUND EXPENDITURES - April 1, 2012 - March 31, 2013:

STRIKE RELATED: LOCAL 81313 - GLENN PAINTER - \$80,000 LOCAL 30213 - MBS RADIO - \$103,318

#### **DEFENSE FUND**

The balance of the Defense Fund as of March 31, 2013 is \$11,584,000.

DEFENSE FUND EXPENDITURES - April 1, 2012 - March 31, 2013

STRIKE RELATED:

LOCAL 30213 - MBS RADIO - \$7,343

There is a chart on page 3 of the report that lists all the various expenditures.

#### DELEGATE JAMES ALLEN:

#### STRATEGIC INDUSTRY FUNDS (SIF)

The balance of the Strategic Industry Fund as of March 31, 2013, is \$31,613,815.

The Strategic Industry Fund campaigns adopted by the delegates at the 2006 Convention continue to increase our leverage at the bargaining table and further our major policy initiatives. Over the course of the years, we have experienced many successful projects and are beginning to gain insight on how to better manage future projects.

The campaigns operate with specific budgets and clear measurable benchmarks at six-month evaluations. We currently have over 50 active SIF campaigns.

SIF campaigns continue to stay well within their budgets.

**DELEGATE CECILIA VALDEZ:** In 2011, the delegates to the 73<sup>rd</sup> CWA Convention adopted a resolution to distribute from the SIF to locals and the international an amount equivalent to \$20 per member for each member paying into the MRF. The membership records used for this calculation are the records that were used for the 2011 Convention and would be paid no later than January 1, 2012, and again no later than January 1, 2013.

In December, 2011, the first distributions totaling almost \$6,000,000 were distributed to 790 locals and almost \$6,000,000 to the international. In December, 2012 the second distribution was made, thus making the final amount to date as \$11,720,858 to the local's and \$11,720,858 to the international. The breakdown by industry is listed.

On page 7, I will cover the totals:

Total Income since inception, June of 2006 to March of 2013 - \$142,103,547.

Total SIF Open Expense, June of 2006 to March 2013 - \$16,754,432.

Total distribution to Locals - \$11,720,858.

Total distribution to the International - \$11,720,858.

Total 2% Administration Expense - \$1,009,735

Union-wide Programs Expenses (open/closed) - \$41,529,795.

Closed Expenses thru 3/13 - \$27,754,054.

Total SIF Fund Balance - \$31,613,815.

Of that, Allocated Union-wide Programs balance - \$7,170,878.

Allocated SIF Balance - \$14,814,826.

Unallocated SIF Balance - \$9,628,111.

**DELEGATE JOAN GIFFORD:** SIF Campaign Successes: Political Engagement - CWA had one of its strongest election programs in 2012. We engaged a record number of volunteers, raised over \$500,000 in new PAF money, and strengthened our LPAT structure in targeted states. We will continue to fight back against attacks on members' collective bargaining rights. We view the election as a huge success. The challenge continues, as we must hold the elected officials accountable for our issues.

Piedmont Passenger Service Agents: Over 4,000 passenger service agents at Piedmont have gained a voice in the workplace. The members were certified under the National Mediation Board in November 2010. They brought the negotiations to a successful close in May of 2012, when the contract was overwhelmingly ratified.

There have been two CWA/Piedmont locals established. The activists continue to build membership, PAF monies and strengthen the overall movement building fight.

Green Jobs: The Manufacturing Division of CWA has trained 2 percent of the IUE membership. The Green Chemistry workshops have proved to be very successful. Joint projects took place at facilities in Ohio and Wisconsin that resulted in reduced energy usage of up to 18 percent. Sector President Jim Clark was recognized at the White House as a "Champion of Change."

**DELEGATE SANDY KMETYK:** Verizon - As we all know, the 2011 round of Verizon East negotiations was very difficult. The negotiations lasted 16 months. The company proposed slashing 60 years of collective benefits and working conditions totaling \$1 billion. Some of the key issues included jobs, call sharing, health care, retirement security, absences, job security and contract labor. There was a two-week strike in August 2011. The districts trained over 1,000 members, engaged community activists, and partnered with Jobs with Justice. There were over 6,000 actions across the country during the dispute. Nearly 100 members were terminated for strike-related activity. We were successful in returning all of the disciplined strikers with the exception of one, which was a legal issue.

Organizing Training: The union successfully trained 300 members through organizing institutes. We have assigned many of the participants on campaigns as apprentices. We currently have members working on Cable-TV, American Airlines passenger service and Comcast of California. The union will continue to benefit from the investment made in training members to organize.

Connecticut Deregulation: CWA District 1 was successful in stopping SB 447, an act modernizing the state's telecommunications laws. The state legislature's bill would have completely deregulated voice telecommunications service and would have strip Connecticut residents of virtually all consumer protections.

**DELEGATE JOHN LEWIS:** Our democracy is in a crisis. The needs of our nation's working families and the labor movement are not being addressed. The effectiveness of organized labor is at a historic low. This is destroying our ability to maintain and improve our standard of living and restore a government of, by and for the people. We must search for ways to change the course of our movement and nation. Operating our union and the labor movement as we have in the past and expecting different results is the definition of insanity.

Therefore, it is our view that a thorough review of how we run our union and relate to the larger community needs to be examined. We must find more effective ways of securing political and economic justice for all workers.

We must expand our circle of allies who share our values for a just society that offers economic and social fairness. The labor movement cannot do it alone. Religious, social justice, senior and youth groups, student activists and other community based organizations must be part of the struggle. If all of us do not do well, none of us do well.

The world has changed since we took collective action to establish the Members' Relief Fund in 1991. Today we face new and different set of challenges that require us, once again, to take bold and decisive actions to keep our union strong.

**DELEGATE JEFF HEISEY:** Recommendations for Consideration by the 74th CWA Convention:

Recommendation No. 1: Roll the Defense Fund into the Strategic Industry Fund.

A. Existing monies currently in the Defense Fund will be distributed into the five existing silos (Telecom, Media, Manufacturing, Passenger Service, and Public/Health Care) and two new silos (one for Public Workers without the right to strike and one for AFA). Funds will be apportioned to the seven silos based on membership.

B. Locals whose membership pays into the MRF/SIF will no longer contribute \$0.50 per member, which will be retained by the local.

C. Locals whose membership does not pay into the MRF/SIF will continue to contribute \$0.50 per member. These monies will be directed into their respective silo each month.

D. SIF requests shall be submitted on a request form with an itemized budget similar to the one used for Defense Fund grants. The request must be reviewed and approved by majority vote of the Executive Board and the DFOC. Requests will be funded out of the appropriate silo(s).

E. Strike-related expenses that are now covered under the Defense Fund would be covered under the Members' Relief Fund. Members' Relief guidelines will be revised to incorporate relevant Defense Fund rules.

F. Defense Fund Oversight Committee responsibilities shall be expanded to include participation in the approval and evaluation of active SIF projects.

G. An additional half percent drawn from the SIF reserve shall be utilized to add a dedicated SIF project coordinator in Washington, DC, who would work with the Secretary-Treasurer and Defense Fund Oversight Committees to properly review, audit, manage, and evaluate projects.

**DELEGATE BILL O'MEARA:** Recommendation No. 2: Beginning with the annual investment earnings from the 2012 calendar year, and going forward, one-half of annual investment earnings from the MRF will be invested in building CWA's ability to fight for economic justice for our members through a new silo under the Strategic Industry Fund. The Defense Fund Oversight Committee responsibilities shall be expanded to include participation with the Executive Board in the approval and evaluation of requests submitted to this new SIF silo.

A. The remaining investment returns will continue to accrue to the MRF.

B. When the MRF reserves reach \$500 million, the floor shall be raised to \$400 million.

C. Should the MRF reserve fall below the current floor of \$377,494,108, all investment returns shall go to the MRF until it is above the floor.

This newly created CWA Growth silo will be used to support and enhance the union's movement building, organizing, leadership development, research, industry analysis and efforts to achieve economic justice, including the hiring of staff needed to provide resources for launching new and existing efforts.

Recommendation No. 3: The Members' Relief guidelines will be adjusted to add the following: Commencing on the 57<sup>th</sup> day of a strike, \$400 per striker per week will be provided for use by the local for striker's assistance. (Subject to availability of funds)

The Secretary-Treasurer's Report on the union's financial issues also requires your careful review as well as discussions with other local leaders. We must make some bold decisions on the future of our union and commit resources to change the course of our movement. Establishment of the Strategic Industry Fund has allowed us to mobilize members and be proactive. It has been a success but we need to do more.

**CHAIR CHELIOTES:** Madam Chair, the Committee respectfully submits this report for approval by the delegates.

**SECRETARY-TREASURER HILL:** Thank you, Chair Cheliotes.

At the Motions microphone the Chair recognizes Glynne Stanley from Local 6214.

**DELEGATE GLYNNE STANLEY (Local 6214):** I wish to move to amend and delete the recommendations on page 9 in their entirety, numbered 1 and 2.

SECRETARY-TREASURER HILL: Is there a second? Seeing no second--

... Calls of second ...

**SECRETARY-TREASURER HILL:** There is a second. Glynne, you are entitled to speak on your amendment.

**DELEGATE STANLEY:** Brothers and sisters, I make this motion after much thought and consideration. There's a lot of history involved with the Defense Fund and why it was created, and the Members' Relief Fund and why it was created. I believe that the 50-cent rebate of the Defense Fund is nothing more than a bribe to the locals to support this recommendation.

I want my members to continue to make the contribution and to be spent as it was intended, and that was in the defense of the union. There are many questions that have not been answered and many dollars that will be moved, millions and millions of dollars, but there are no set figures.

The half percent drawn from the SIF reserve for a coordinator has no money given and no answer to who will hire or appoint this person.

I really have a problem with half of the annual investment earnings from the Members' Relief Fund going to a new silo. We have silos for any and everything now. It sounds like we are dealing with our employers now instead of the CWA. We deal with silos every day. (Applause)

This is nothing more than a convoluted backdoor attempt to spend your money more in the national budget. I would personally like to know the who, what, when, and where and how of all these millions of dollars that are spent. If you the delegates would like to know the same answer, I urge you to support and vote for this motion.

I support the work that the Defense Fund Oversight Committee has done, and I know it's a thankless job. But I do urge the Defense Fund Oversight Committee to come back in two years with a recommendation that answers the who, what, when, where, and how and give us facts and figures like anyone who would look at a recommendation would see on how the funds and figures and those millions of dollars are spent. As they say on TV, "Show me the Car Fax." Thank you. (Applause and cheers)

**SECRETARY-TREASURER HILL:** At the Against mike, the Chair recognizes Delegate Steve Sarnoff.

**DELEGATE STEVE SARNOFF (Local 3179):** Speaking for a Public Sector in our "right to work for less" state, "right to starve" state, where our members and our membership and the units represent barely have half of their members of the unit paying dues, we have to stop practicing insanity.

The Defense Fund served the purpose that it was intended for for many years. But in today's reality, when so many of our resources have been lost because of the loss of membership of our union, we don't have the money to support the fight.

Only by using the resources that are available, redirecting them using the Defense Oversight Committee in its proper role so that the money will not be squandered, wasted, or in any way misused, only with that confidence do I personally support that we defeat this amendment, go forward with the main motion, and start this union on the path of recovery. Thank you. (Applause and cheers)

**SECRETARY-TREASURER HILL:** I have no one either at the Questions mike or at the For mike, but I do have a second speaker at the Against mike. So the Chair recognizes Delegate Bradley Harmon.

**DELEGATE BRADLEY HARMON (Local 6355):** Thank you, Madam Chair. Local 6355 is one of the Public Sector locals that doesn't have the right to strike, and doesn't have the right to collectively bargain. I rise today in opposition to this amendment and in support of the main motion, because I am the "Ghost of Christmas Future," folks, brothers and sisters. Collective bargaining is on the line. Collective bargaining created the middle class in this country, and it could go away like that. And unless our union is prepared to go on the offense, which this main motion would do and which this amendment would cripple our ability to do, collective bargaining could go away.

You don't want to have to be a \$3 local like 6355. Many of my members work at minimum wage. I have members who don't have any teeth because they've got to put food on the table, so they can't put teeth in their mouths-- literally. Now, I am really, really proud of what we do in Local 6355, and I am really proud of the 1,300 members who voluntarily, even though the state doesn't recognize our right to bargain and even though the state does say it would be illegal for us to engage in concerted activity to try to make things better, I am really proud of the members of my local who decide to be members of a fighting organization that wants to make things better for the working class.

But I don't want all of CWA to be in the position that Local 6355 members are in. And if this amendment passes, the intent of this amendment is to gut this main motion. The main motion has the intention of making our union ready to stop being on defense all the time, and to start going on offense and moving things forward in this country for working people. (Applause)

We need to defeat this amendment and we need to pass this main motion so that we can start to move American workers into the 21st century. I am a social worker. I work with abused and neglected children in the City of St. Louis, which was once one of our great industrial cities where everybody had a job, we had good schools, and we had good health care. And we have seen what's happened during the last 30 years when those good jobs have gone away as union power has eroded.

It's time for CWA to defeat this amendment, to pass the main motion, so that we can have the resources and skills to organize and fight and make things better for working people in this country.

I urge my brother and sisters to defeat this amendment and ultimately to pass the main motion. Thank you. (Applause and cheers)

**SECRETARY-TREASURER HILL:** We have no other speakers wishing to speak on this amendment, so the question before you is a motion to amend to delete all of the recommendations on Page 9 of the report.

All in favor please raise your hands, in favor of adopting the amendment. Down hands. All in favor of defeating the amendment please raise your hands. The amendment is defeated. (Applause and cheers)

The Chair recognizes at the For microphone, Delegate Kevin Sheil.

**DELEGATE KEVIN SHEIL (Local 1103):** Thank you. I rise in support of the Defense Fund Oversight Committee's recommendation because it is essential that CWA organize new workers and build movements. If CWA does not increase its commitment to organize the unorganized and building movements, we are a generation away from extinction. Let me say that again, if CWA does not increase its commitment to organizing the unorganized and building movements, we are a generation away from extinction.

Organizing unorganized workers is a central method to assure that CWA will have a future. The current generation of leadership has an obligation to ensure that CWA continues to be a viable institution and social movement by organizing successive generations of new workers and labor leaders. In order to do that, we must vastly increase our organizing efforts and give those efforts the support, commitment, and financial resources that have been lacking.

Organizing unorganized workers cannot be done in a vacuum. In order to broaden our strength, impact, and appeal, CWA must continue to build coalitions with friends and allies. Movement-building is necessary to serve as a counterbalance to the present-day preservation of our democracy. Through movement building, a ripple effect of solidarity will grow to 50 million strong allowing workers to finally achieve economic justice. Building movements will give us the power to repair the broken Senate rules, clear a path to legalization for immigrants, take corporate money out of politics, prevent voter suppression, and grow our union.

For over 75 years since the passage of National Labor Relations Act, it has been America's stated national policy to support collective bargaining. Despite this policy on paper, in reality private sector collective bargaining coverage has dropped to 6.6 percent of the workforce, and public sector collective bargaining coverage is 35.9 percent. Total union households stand at 11.3 percent.

Last year alone, over 400,000 union jobs disappeared. Today, CWA has fewer than 500,000 members, and next year there will be even fewer. In fact, collective bargaining density in America is at its lowest levels since 1916. In every sector and bargaining unit of our union, we are under assault and bargain defensively, trying to hold on to the benefits and standards of living of the past. Across CWA, including every district and sector, we need to put our financial resources to work where they would be most efficient.

CWA is losing the narrative with unorganized workers, because we are not effectively using the financial resources that we already have. We cannot afford to sit back and wait any longer as our union turns to rust. We cannot allow CWA to erode into a service model union only.

Let's capture a more unpleasant scene. Every year we fail to take action to address our declining power, every Convention we do nothing serious to address our declining influence, every day we do nothing meaningful to address our declining membership, this union is one day closer to death. If we acknowledge that the union and the entire labor movement are facing the greatest challenges in our history, then it's clear that for CWA's future and our future, foresight, new thinking, and a bold approach are required.

This is not the time for superficial, incremental change. If we are to lead this union into a better place for the next generation, then we have to go big and bold while we can. We can only do that by growing our union through organizing and movement-building. So we must focus like a laser on growing our union, and we need to give ourselves the tools to take us into the future. We have no choice but to evolve into a more flexible union for the greater good.

In order for us to shape our future, we must give our union the space to become more effective, efficient, and responsive. And at the end of the day, it will take sacrifice and the willingness to endure some hardship, but it must be done.

If we have the courage, we have an opportunity to alter the trajectory of our union, and today is a great place to start. We must support the DFOC's recommendation. Thank you. (Applause)

**SECRETARY-TREASURER HILL:** At the Questions mike, the Chair recognizes Corey Decillis.

**DELEGATE COREY DECILLIS (Local 1124):** My question is: Will the DFOC review and approve any request to add staff funded by the earnings money?

**CHAIR CHELIOTES:** We will have full oversight. We expect to receive proposals as we do now. We will review those proposals and, as far as we are concerned, we want to make sure that any people hired are hired under union contracts.

**DELEGATE DECILLIS:** Thank you.

**SECRETARY-TREASURER HILL:** At the "For" microphone, the Chair recognizes Irene Robles.

**DELEGATE IRENE ROBLES (Local 7019):** Does anyone here have to be reminded that our union and all working people are under attack? If now isn't the time to fight back with everything we have, I don't know when it is. Do we wait until it's too late to make a difference, or do we fight with everything we have?

Our ability to bargain good contracts is under attack because corporations control the rules of the game. Too many groups like the Chamber of Commerce are challenging our very right to exist.

Everyone in this room knows that this is our reality. But we won't let them win. We are fighting back. So why keep one hand tied behind our back? Half the annual earnings is a tiny fraction of the total Strike Fund which is at \$444.7 million. Keeping half of the earnings won't add much at all to that balance, but will make all the difference in the world to our ability to fight back and stand up.

I trust our elected DFOC, and I support their recommendations. I urge you to vote "yes" on the recommendation to use half these earnings to continue the effective work of our SIF. Thank you (Applause)

**SECRETARY-TREASURER HILL:** At the motions mike, the Chair recognizes John Bachelor.

**DELEGATE JOHN BACHELOR (Local 2111):** I call the question.

**SECRETARY-TREASURER HILL:** The question has been called for. That is non-debatable. All in favor of closing debate please signify by raising your hands. Down hands. Those opposed, please raise your hands. The debate is closed.

If people could please return to your seats so we can take the vote on the main motion.

Okay. The question before you is the adoption of the Defense Fund Oversight Committee report. All those in favor signify by raising your right hand. Down, please. Opposed, same sign. The Committee's report is adopted. (Applause and cheers)

I would like to thank the Defense Fund Committee. Thank you for all of your hard work.

I would like to turn the Convention back over to President Cohen.

... President Cohen resumed the Chair ...

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Thanks, Secretary-Treasurer Hill, and thanks to the Defense Fund Oversight Committee. I believe the Secretary-Treasurer has a couple of announcements. I will call on her for announcements.

Annie? If not, we will do them later. Do you have them?

**SECRETARY-TREASURER HILL:** Just a few things. If you haven't already, please text the NLRB to 69866, that's 69866, to sign up for the Rapid Response Team to prevent Corporate American from killing the NLRB. Again, that's NLRB to 69866. I hope everyone will please take the time to do that and sign up for the rapid alerts.

We have several booths out in the Convention Center. Hopefully people will take the time to visit them either before the Convention or during lunch. There is a Human Rights booth that has lots of information. There are also booths on Safety & Health, and on our Legislative and Political programs.

We also have a booth on the Pediatric AIDS Foundation where you can get additional information, make a statement about why you believe it's important, and sign up for a drawing as I think you can at many of the booths.

Tonight there also is a Human Rights reception from 7:00 to 8:30. So it's not just about having fun, but it's also about moving our movement within the human rights area.

I'm sure we will have some further announcements later.

Larry?

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Thank you. We are adjourned until 1:30 p.m. See you at 1:30. Thank you.

... The Convention recessed for lunch at 11:52 a.m. ...

# MONDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The Convention reconvened at 1:33 p.m., President Cohen presiding.

. . . Prior to reconvening, a video of personal stories about the importance of union building was shown . . .

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Delegates, please be seated.

As we begin, I want to mention that-- and I'm sure with your concurrence-- at 2:50 we will join in a National Moment of Silence in memory of those who were killed and injured on the Boston Marathon. And thank you, Delegate Fowler, for bringing that to our attention from Birmingham.

I would now like to call on the Constitution Committee. They are already on the podium, terrific. Let me introduce them:

Mike Bucsko, Executive Officer, TNG-CWA, Local 37002, Chair of the Committee Richard Hatch, President, Local 2201 Bill O'Dell, President, Local 3215 Evelyn Smith, Secretary-Treasurer, Local 6222 Norman "Doc" Holiday, President, Local 9110

I now call on the Chair of the Committee.

**DELEGATE MIKE BUCSKO (Local 37002, Chair, Constitution Committee):** The Constitution Committee met in the City of Washington, DC, beginning February 25, 2013, for the purpose of reviewing and considering proposed amendments to the CWA Constitution.

The Constitution provides under Article XVI, Section 2, that the Constitution Committee is "charged with the duty of considering and reporting to the Convention and to the Executive Board on proposals to change this Constitution."

Article XXVIII, Sections 2 & 3, provides that amendments submitted to the Constitution Committee sixty (60) days or more in advance of the Convention will require a majority vote of the Delegates present to be enacted. All other amendments to the Constitution proposed at the Convention shall require a three-fourths (3/4) vote of those voting to effectuate such proposed amendments, but in no event shall the three-fourths (3/4) vote of those voting thereupon be less than a majority vote of the approved delegates at the Convention.

The Constitution Committee held meetings in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, beginning April 19, 2013, after the preliminary report was issued on February 28, 2013. This report sets forth all proposed amendments that have been received by the Committee to date. A strikeout denotes deletion of language; **boldface and underlined** type denotes insertion of new language.

Amendment No. 1 - AMEND Article XV - Elections

Add New Section 8 - International Union Officer Term of Service:

#### Section 8 - International Union Officer Term of Service

<u>Retirement shall be mandatory for all full-time officers of the Union after reaching age 70</u> upon the expiration of their current term of office.

### (Submitted by CWA Executive Board)

The purpose of this amendment is to require mandatory retirement at age 70 for all full-time elected Executive Board members. The amendment allows for Board Members who reach age 70 to finish their term after being elected. This amendment does not apply to the At-Large Diversity Board Members, Local Officers or Staff.

The Committee sought a legal opinion to ensure this proposal does not violate federal law on age discrimination. The CWA General Counsel provided the following:

"Although the Age Discrimination In Employment Act, 29 USC §623(A)(1), ADEA, generally prohibits an employer from imposing a mandatory retirement age, the ADEA does permit an organization to seek mandatory retirement for its top policy makers once they turn 65. [29 USC §631(C)(1)]

Because full-time CWA Executive Board members are the Union's top policy makers, this ADEA exemption would permit a mandatory retirement age of 65 or older. The proposed amendment allows these top officials to serve until age 70 or the end of the term in which they reach age 70, whichever is later. Thus it falls well within the ADEA top policy maker exception and would be lawful.

Few of our active members are over 70 years of age and the Constitution Committee commends the Executive Board for submitting this proposal.

### THE COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS ADOPTION OF THIS PROPOSAL.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** The amendment is before you. Are there speakers? Microphone 3, Delegate Gonzalez.

**DELEGATE ART GONZALEZ (Local 9511):** I stand before you after completing 14 months as an elected member of the 2012 District 9 Bargaining Committee for AT&T West negotiations for 17,000 members. I also served as an elected Bargaining Committee member in 2009.

I encourage the delegates to vote in favor of this Constitutional amendment--

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Delegate, I'm sorry. Art, I think you are on the wrong amendment. There is some confusion between you and the folks here. I apologize for that. We will bring you back on the right one. If you could just stay in the area you are in, that will be great.

We are on the First Amendment. Are there any speakers on it? No?

Steve? Delegate Sarnoff, Mike 3.

**DELEGATE STEVE SARNOFF (Local 3179):** I rise to support this good amendment, and I commend our President and the Executive Board for initiating this bold decision.

As Larry mentioned earlier, it's time for bold and new kinds of action. This will accomplish that. One of the most common criticisms I have heard of leadership is that, when they are long divorced from the work on the shop floor, they kind of forget what's going on and what our members are going through. Also, changes in technology, changes in our jobs and duties also get lost over time. So this will give us a strong, vibrant leadership council.

Once again, I urge all members, all my brothers and sisters here, to support it. Thank you.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** There are no other speakers on this amendment. All those in favor of the amendment, please indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed? It is adopted.

I recognize the Committee.

CHAIR BUCSKO: Amendment No. 2 - AMEND Article XXIV - Proxy Voting

There shall be no voting by proxy, except that a Local composed of less than 200 members may assign its vote to a delegate from another Local attending the Convention. No Local shall be allowed to vote more than one such assignment commencing with the 2015 CWA Convention. (Submitted by the CWA Executive Board)

The purpose of this amendment is to eliminate proxy voting commencing with the 2015 CWA Convention. Currently, only locals with less than 200 members can proxy their votes to another local.

The Committee reviewed statistics on CWA Convention attendance between 2004 and 2011 and found that few locals exercised their right to proxy their votes.

Now that CWA has moved to Biennial Conventions, local attendance should be less of a financial burden. All locals should send delegates to represent their members at Convention and to cast their votes on the important issues that face the Union.

# THE COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS ADOPTION OF THIS PROPOSAL.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** At Microphone 4, Delegate Stanley.

**DELEGATE GLYNNE STANLEY (Local 6214):** If I was clear what I heard reported in our district meeting yesterday is that CWA was against voter suppression. Well, I don't know what in the hell, when you get rid of proxy voting that that's not suppressing votes. (Applause and cheers)

I have brought proxies with me before for different reasons because different locals weren't able to come. Some of them were family matters and whatever, last-minute things. But I think that if we are going to call ourselves a democratic CWA, then I think the people who are unable to come that still represent members of CWA should have a way for their votes to be heard just like anybody else. (Applause and cheers)

If we are going to talk about how we are against voter suppression in all these state legislatures, then we best be telling our own people that we are not suppressing their vote. So I urge you to vote "no" on this amendment. Thank you. (Applause and cheers)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** I believe we have a delegate at the Questions mike. Unfortunately I don't have a card, so I recognize the delegate at Mike 5. Please state your name so I can make sure it's the right question on this amendment.

**DELEGATE ROSALINDA BERNAL (Local 9588):** I have two questions. Does the Constitution dictate that the locals must attend the Conventions?

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Would the Committee like to answer?

CHAIR BUCSKO: No, it does not.

**DELEGATE BERNAL:** So have we notified these locals that do not attend that they should be attending and that they are intending to yank the proxy process?

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** We wouldn't have done that so far because that is not the practice, but I will let the Committee answer.

**CHAIR BUCSKO:** The preliminary report was issued to all locals, so all local presidents had this information.

## **DELEGATE BERNAL:** Thank you.

## PRESIDENT COHEN: Thanks, Rosa.

No other questions, therefore the amendment is before us. Normally I would ask everyone in line to sit down, but let's give it a shot. All those in favor of the amendment, please indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed. It is defeated. (Applause and cheers)

I recognize the Committee.

**DELEGATE EVELYN SMITH:** Amendment No. 3 - AMEND Article XVI - Committees; Section 8 - National Committee on Civil Rights and Equity

The National Committee on Civil Rights and Equity shall consist of one member from each CWA District, one member from the Public & Healthcare Workers Sector, one member from the Media Sector (consisting of the PPMWS-CWA, NABET-CWA, and TNG-CWA), one member from the AFA-CWA Sector, and one member from the IUE-CWA Division. National Committee on Civil Rights and Equity members shall be appointed by the President and approved by the Executive Board. In Convention years, the Committee shall meet at least once a year and also prior to Convention to report to the Convention on its activities and make recommendations. In non-Convention years, the Committee will meet once and prepare a report on its activities and make recommendations which will be distributed to the locals by the President of the Union. The Committee Member from the particular District, Division, or Sector will also report on the Committee's activities at any District, Division, or Sector meetings.

(Submitted by the National Committee on Civil Rights and Equity)

Section 9 - Women's Committee - The Women's Committee shall consist of one member from each District, one member from the Public & Healthcare Workers Sector, one member from the Media Sector (consisting of the PPMWS-CWA, NABET-CWA, and TNG-CWA), one member from the AFA-CWA Sector, and one member from the IUE-CWA Division. Women's Committee members shall be appointed by the President and approved by the Executive Board. In Convention years, the Committee shall meet at least once a year and also prior to Convention to report to the Convention on its activities and make recommendations. In non-Convention years, the Committee will meet once and prepare a report on its activities and make recommendations which will be distributed to the locals by the President of the Union. The Committee Member from the particular District, Division, or Sector will also report on the Committee's activities at any District, Division, or Sector meetings.

(Submitted by the Women's Committee)

This proposal would add four sector representatives (Media, Public and Healthcare Workers, AFA-CWA and IUE-CWA) to both the National Committee on Civil Rights and Equity and the Women's Committee.

The Constitution Committee met and discussed this proposal with Chris Kennedy, CWA Human Rights Director, and Nancy Biagini, CWA Staff Representative assigned to the National Women's Committee. The Committee also spoke with Gloria Middleton, Chair of the National Committee on Civil Rights and Equity, and Virginia Anderson-Dunbar, Chair of the Women's Committee. The goal of this proposal is to be more inclusive and engage all areas of the union in the important work of Human Rights. The Constitution Committee reviewed those appointed to both committees during the past 10 years and found minimal sector representation. This proposal will guarantee representation from all segments of the Union on these vital committees.

## THE COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS ADOPTION OF THIS PROPOSAL.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** At Microphone 3, Delegate Benitez.

**DELEGATE LUIS BENITEZ-BURGOS (Local 3010):** Good morning, brothers and sisters. I am here to speak up for Article XVI, Equality, liberty, and fraternity-- that's what this amendment is about. We constantly preach and fight with our companies and with the government to defend these principles, but the best way to do it is by leading and preaching by example, by showing that we really care. This fight for equality didn't end with the women's vote or with the Civil Rights Movement in the '50s and '60s. It's still on. There is new momentum, and we have to be a part of it, just as this union did when it created the Vice President-at-Large members. And I hope that you join us, join me, in supporting this amendment. Thank you. (Applause)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** No other delegates wishing the floor. The amendment is before you. All those in favor of this amendment, please indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed. It is adopted. (Applause)

I recognize the Committee.

**COMMITTEE MEMBER**: AMEND Article XVII - Collective Bargaining. Insert new Section 3:

Section 3 - Bargaining Councils In Telecom

a) The Convention or the Executive Board shall establish Bargaining Councils. Bargaining councils will formulate bargaining programs and agendas to apply to a single employer with bargaining units that cross District or Sector lines, associated employers or a number of employers, but limited to those agendas and programs affecting bargaining units represented on a bargaining council. The Executive Board shall be responsible for the development of bargaining programs for those units or groups for which bargaining councils have not been established.

b) Bargaining councils shall comprise one representative from each local having members in bargaining units of the bargaining council, and they shall be certified to the President of the Union.

c) The bargaining councils will designate certain issues as "National Issues." To be so designated, an issue must affect CWA-represented workers in multiple CWA districts/sectors.

d) The bargaining resolution of a National Issue requires the agreement of all District/ Sector Vice Presidents of CWA districts/sectors with at least one constituent local with a representative on the bargaining council.

e) National Issues shall remain so designated unless all the District/Sector Vice Presidents of all CWA districts/sectors with at least one constituent local with a representative on the bargaining council decide otherwise.

<u>f)</u> No District/Sector Vice President may unilaterally accept, change and/or delete any proposal, issue, and/or agenda items designated a National Issue by the bargaining council unless all District/Sector Vice Presidents so agree or the President of the Union overrules the Vice Presidents and so agrees.

g) District/Sector Vice Presidents may not authorize or approve a collective bargaining agreement containing a National Issue if the resolution of that National Issue has not been agreed to by all the District/Sector Vice Presidents with at least one constituent local with a representative on the bargaining council.

h) If the relevant District/Sector Vice Presidents are unable to reach agreement on the resolution of a National Issue, only the President of CWA can end the impasse and decide how to deal with the issue.

i) At meetings of the bargaining council, local representatives shall vote by a show of hands except that upon the request of twenty percent (20) of the delegates the vote shall be per capita (based on the number of members of the local in bargaining units of the bargaining council). All necessary expenses of the local's bargaining council members shall be borne by the local. The officers of the Union and members of the Executive Board may be appointed members of a bargaining council as determined by the Convention or the Executive Board.

j) Bargaining councils shall meet at the call of the President of the Union. The President may, with the approval of the Executive Board, designate a person to work with the bargaining council, and the President or the President's designee shall be the Chair of all bargaining council meetings.

Renumber current Section 3 to Section 4.

Renumber current Section 4 to Section 5.

(Submitted by the CWA Executive Board)

The purpose of this amendment is to mandate Telecom bargaining councils, define their composition, establish a procedure to identify "National Issues" and institute a process to coordinate agreement on these issues in bargaining.

The Committee discussed this proposal with President Larry Cohen, Secretary-Treasurer Annie Hill, Chief of Staff Ron Collins, T&T Vice President Ralph Maly, District 1 Vice President Chris Shelton, District 9 Vice President Jim Weitkamp, Local 9003 President T Santora, and Local 7250 President Shari Wojtowicz.

Recent rounds of bargaining exposed a "pattern setter" form of bargaining, in which the settlement of a contract in one District could and did affect ongoing bargaining in other Districts. The process caused frustration among the leadership and telecom locals, some of whom questioned its effectiveness as it related to "National Issues."

This proposal addresses these concerns by mandating Telecom bargaining councils and by giving them the authority to designate "National Issues." In addition, it puts in place a process where all District/Sector Vice Presidents with representatives in the bargaining council are required to sign off before any one unit can reach an agreement on a "National Issue." It also establishes the President of the Union as the final decision maker should District/Sector Vice Presidents not be able to agree.

The proposed amendment prevents an employer from unilaterally establishing a pattern and then demanding that the other bargaining units accept the same terms. This process allows us to capture and best utilize the bargaining experience and historical contract knowledge of the District/Sector Vice Presidents and Staff.

In summary, the Board amendment proposal would establish:

\* That bargaining councils are mandatory in telecommunications.

\* That these bargaining councils have the authority to designate the "National Issues" that cross bargaining unit lines.

\* That any change, deletion or agreement on a "National Issue" must be agreed to by all the affected Vice Presidents of the District/Sector, and, if they can't agree, the President of CWA will end the impasse and resolve the issue.

\* All bargaining units will be free to do whatever they choose on issues other than those designated as "National Issues" by the bargaining council.

The Constitution Committee recognizes the frustration that has resulted when employers refused to bargain at a national table. In our opinion, this proposal accomplishes our goal of coordinating on issues of common interest across District/ Sector boundaries.

# THE COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS ADOPTION OF THIS PROPOSAL.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Thank you. At Microphone 1, Delegate Santora.

**DELEGATE T SANTORA (Local 9003):** I move to amend the report in the following way: Insert new section (i) to read as follows:

"The elected members of a single employer national bargaining committee, the regional bargaining committee members who have been selected to negotiate at a national bargaining table, shall also be full participants in the determinations described in sections (d) through (h)."

And then re-designate sections (i) and (j) below to (k) and (l), respectively.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** You can speak on your amendment.

**DELEGATE SANTORA:** Thank you, Larry.

Fellow delegates, I am hoping this would be accepted as a friendly amendment. It is intended as such. What we would like to propose here is that where we have the opportunity to have national bargaining-- and I know that the proposal in the narrative determined that that was something that was desirable-- if we are successful at that, we have a process in place to select a national bargaining committee from those regional bargaining tables. Those persons are selected by their colleagues who have been elected to the regional tables. One person from each bargaining unit would then sit on the national table.

We believe that it's only fair to have elected representatives from those bargaining committees participate in the decisions, particularly at a national bargaining table, and this is the only way to make that happen in the constitution. So this is about democracy at a lower level than the Executive Board, and we hope that the Board will accept this as a friendly amendment and, if not, that the delegates will move it. Thank you. (Applause)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** A complex way of doing things here. T, are you still there? So we are talking about when there is a national table, correct?

**DELEGATE SANTORA:** Yes, that would be the only circumstance.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Yes. So I think the eight Telecom VPs-- if you don't mind, Committee, I am asking them because they submitted this through the Board. Is that okay with you? So I believe-- do you guys need to caucus at all, or are you okay with it?

You are all cool all the way down the line? Okay.

Yes. It's accepted as a friendly amendment. Thank you. (Applause)

I only have one ticket here if that's correct. We are back to the main-- pardon me for one second.

I've got to keep the numbering system straight myself. At the Questions mike, delegate Wojtowicz, Shari.

**DELEGATE SHARI WOJTOWICZ (Local 7250):** Where does AT&T Mobility fall under this proposal?

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Okay. Again, we have them spread out here. Does the Committee know the answer to that? Richard, you want to answer that then?

**DELEGATE RICHARD HATCH:** As it was explained to the committee, AT&T Mobility would be a separate bargaining council.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** You have a second question, Shari?

**DELEGATE WOJTOWICZ:** I do. Thank you.

Since the AT&T Mobility orange contract is a multidistrict contract, why isn't it represented by the Telecommunications and Technologies office?

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Anthony, do you know the answer? Is there an answer to this or not?

Good question, Shari. The way it would work is that members of the Executive Board in those areas would help sort that out, but there is not-- there's not a definitive answer to your question. That's how that was determined this time, right? That's where the structure came from, so the same process would be at work. The five District VPs in coordination with-- particularly if this amendment is adopted--with the eight telecom VPs would sort the answer out. I'm sorry I can't give you a more definitive answer.

At Microphone No. 3, Delegate Gonzalez. I think, Art, this is the one you wanted to speak on. Sorry about the other mistake.

**DELEGATE ART GONZALEZ (Local 9511):** I stand before you after completing 14 months as an elected member of the 2012 District 9 bargaining committee for AT&T West negotiations for 17,000 members. I also served as an elected bargaining committee member in 2009.

I rise to urge delegates to vote in favor of this constitutional amendment. This amendment will support our bargaining committees and help prevent the division we have experienced in recent bargainings against well-organized attacks from corporations such as AT&T and Verizon.

Gone are the days when we had any meaningful relationships with our employers. Today's bargaining has become a war against greedy corporations whose main goal is to divide and weaken our union. This amendment is necessary now more than ever to maintain solidarity and confidence in our movement.

Our future bargaining success will depend on our ability to change the status quo and maximize the leverage across the country in the face of these vicious attacks on the standards of living for all working families.

Sisters and brothers, I urge you to support this amendment. Thank you.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Microphone No. 3, Delegate Sarnoff.

**DELEGATE SARNOFF:** I waive.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** He waives. All right.

Down at the Motions mike, Delegate Taylor.

**DELEGATE BYRON TAYLOR (Local 2202):** I call the question on the amendment.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** The question has been called. It's non-debatable. It requires a two-thirds vote. All those in favor of the motion to call the question, please indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed. Debate is ended.

Now we are voting on the amendment as amended, the friendly amendment included. All those in favor of the amendment, please indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed? It is adopted. (Applause and cheers)

I recognize the Committee.

CHAIR BUCSKO: That concludes our report.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** At Microphone No. 1, Delegate Blackburn.

**DELEGATE DAVID BLACKBURN (Local 7050):** I move for the adoption of Article VI-- or excuse me, Amendment No. 6 of the Constitution Committee's report.

... Cry of "Second" ...

#### AMENDMENT NO. 6

AMEND Article IX - Executive Board - Section 1(c)

(c) The Vice Presidents (District; Telecom <u>Sector</u> and <u>Technology</u>; Public, Health Care and Education Workers; TNG-CWA Sector; NABET-CWA Sector; IUE-CWA Division, and AFA-CWA Sector).

AMEND Article XII - Duties of Officers and other Executive Board Members

Section 3 - Vice Presidents - District; Telecom and Technology; Public, Health Care and Education Workers; TNG-CWA; NABET-CWA; IUE-CWA; and AFA-CWA Sectors

Section 4 - Vice Presidents - District, Telecom and Technology Sector

Section 5 - Telecom Sector and Technology Vice President

For those bargaining units of Telecommunications employees, other than AT&T, Verizon, Qwest and their subsidiaries and affiliates, Tthe Telecom <u>Sector</u> & Technology Vice President shall be responsible, under the direction of the Executive Board, for coordinating matters of common concern and interest with respect to contracts, wages, hours of employment and other working conditions within the units <u>of the Telecom Sector</u>. The Telecom <u>Sector</u> & <u>Technology</u> Vice President shall be responsible for bargaining in those bargaining units which are system-wide or national in scope <u>including separate</u> <u>bargaining units of the same employer</u> as determined by the Executive Board.

AMEND Article XV - Elections

Section 2(a) - Vice Presidents and PPMWS Executive Officer

(a) District Vice Presidents shall be elected by a secret ballot, after nominations from the floor, at a meeting of delegates from the District. Beginning with the 2011 CWA Convention, there shall be elected a Telecom <u>Sector</u> and <u>Technology</u> Vice President for <u>AT&T Legacy T</u>, <u>Avaya</u>, <u>Alcatel Lucent</u>, <u>OFS</u> and those bargaining units of telecommunications employees other than <u>AT&T</u>, <u>Verizon</u>, <u>Qwest</u> and their subsidiaries and affiliates. The Telecom <u>Sector</u> and <u>Technology</u> Vice President, and the Public, Health Care and Education Workers Vice President shall be elected by secret ballot, after nominations from the floor at meetings of delegates representing members of <del>AT&T Legacy T</del>, <del>Avaya</del>, <del>Alcatel Lucent</del>, <del>and OFS</del> <del>and affected</del> telecommunications bargaining units and Public, Health Care and Education workers units respectively.

AMEND Article XXI - Recall Petition Against Persons Holding Elective Office in the Union

Section 1(3) - Petition for Recall of Union Officers and Executive Board Members

(3) May be preferred against a Vice President of a District by twenty percent (20) of the locals representing twenty percent (20) of the membership within the District, and may be preferred against the Telecom <u>Sector</u> and Technology Vice President; Public, Health Care and Education Workers Vice President; the TNG-CWA Sector Vice President; the NABET-CWA Sector Vice President; the IUE-CWA Division Vice President; the AFA-CWA Sector Vice President; the PPMWS Executive Officer, and the Director of CWA-SCA Canada by twenty percent (20) of the locals representing twenty percent (20) of the membership of the units the affected Vice President, the PPMWS Executive Officer, or the Director of CWA-SCA Canada represents;

AMEND Article XXII - Referendum and Recall, Section 7(b)

(b) The Telecom <u>Sector</u> and <u>Technology</u> Vice President may be recalled by Delegates at an International Convention, who represent the membership of their respective bargaining units, by a two-thirds (2/3) vote of those voting on the question or by a referendum among the members of the Union in the units the Vice President represents, if two-thirds (2/3) of the votes cast in such referendum favor recall.

(Submitted by David Blackburn, TeleCom Ad-Hoc Co-Chair, President Local 7050; T Santora, TeleCom Ad-Hoc Co-Chair, President Local 9003; Shari Wojtowicz, TeleCom Ad-Hoc Sec.-Treas., President Local 7250)

The purpose of this amendment is to establish a Telecom Sector with a Telecom Sector Vice President.

The Constitution Committee discussed this proposal with T Santora, TeleCom Ad-Hoc Co-Chair and President Local 9003, and Shari Wojtowicz, TeleCom Ad-Hoc Sec-Treas. and President Local 7250, two of the authors of the amendment; T&T Vice President Ralph Maly; District 1 Vice President Chris Shelton; and District 9 Vice President Jim Weitkamp.

This amendment is similar to an amendment proposed at the 2010 Convention, which was not recommended by the Constitution Committee at that time. The 2010 proposed amendment, which would

have created a Telecommunications Sector Vice President, was debated on the floor and rejected by the delegates. The 2010 Constitution Committee wrote, "this amendment will take away jurisdiction and the bargaining authority of the elected bargaining committees and elected District Vice Presidents and give that authority to a Telecommunications Sector Vice President."

The 2013 proposed amendment, like the 2010 rejected amendment, shifts bargaining responsibility from the District Vice Presidents to a new Telecom Sector Vice President. The narrative sent with the proposal states: "Duties of a Telecom Vice President should include all bargaining and representational responsibilities currently held by the T&T Vice President, as well as bargaining responsibilities now vested with District Vice Presidents with telecom industry units under their jurisdiction today."

All agree that there has not been sufficient coordination in some bargaining in recent years and that the issue must be addressed. The members of the Executive Board have proposed mandated Telecom Bargaining Councils. The Blackburn-Santora-Wojtowicz proposal would expand the Telecom Sector with a Telecom Sector Vice President.

In the Constitution Committee's research it became evident that implementation of the proposed amendment would force major structural changes within our Union. The proposal would create friction between the duties given to the newly-created Telecom Sector Vice President and the responsibilities of the respective District Vice Presidents. Those in favor of the proposed amendment to create the Telecom Sector contend their proposal and the Executive Board's bargaining council proposal are complementary. In the Constitution Committee's opinion, the two proposals are in conflict and the proposed Telecom Sector with a new Telecom Sector Vice President would undermine the authority and responsibility of the District Vice Presidents and create structural chaos.

The Constitution Committee recognizes the need for coordinated bargaining in telecom. However, the Committee believes the proposed amendment from the Executive Board provides a more democratic and inclusive process which respects the responsibilities of the elected District Vice Presidents and gives authority to the locals in the bargaining councils to designate national issues.

### THE COMMITTEE DOES NOT RECOMMEND ADOPTION OF THIS PROPOSAL.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** You may speak. There's a second I heard from the floor. You may speak on it, David.

### DELEGATE BLACKBURN: Thank you, Larry.

Today, accountability for bargaining with our national employers in the telecom sector is all but nonexistent.

As demonstrated in our last two bargaining rounds of negotiations with AT&T, most of our members were directly impacted by the settlement of other contracts that they had no choice or voice in. It is impossible to hold anyone accountable for the failure or success of our bargaining outcomes when responsibility is divided by multiple districts, vice presidents, each with different agendas and autonomy from one another.

Promises and good intentions are no substitute for real bargaining coordination. After the failures identified in the 2009 round of bargaining, a new "committee of eight" was formed with a promise of real coordination and mutual support. It collapsed within months.

As the Executive Board states in the bargaining council proposal, the only way to defeat this pattern-setter form of bargaining is to approach negotiations as a completely unified force. A unified telecom sector is the only way to ensure a single point of contact for all telecom bargaining committees

and provide real coordination and establish continuity that is sorely missing.

Our elected bargaining committees and the staff that support them need to have a central hub for sharing proposals, strategies, and resources to effectively coordinate negotiations at multiple tables.

The telecom industry has and continues to evolve in ways that our union has not kept pace with. The loss of thousands of jobs in the core companies where our membership density is the greatest has given rise to thousands more jobs in spinoffs, subsidiaries, and new ventures where we have not shared in the growth. Our current geography and divided districts are unable to focus on an industry that no longer shares our obsolete boundaries.

As stated well in the Executive Board's telecom SIF proposal, "If we don't expand our definition of the industry to recognize the realities of today, we risk becoming irrelevant in our own industry." We need a singular focus on the trends in our industry in order to take advantage of the new organizations and employment opportunities for our members, to strengthen our ability to bargain good contracts for our current and future members, and to protect the legacy left to us by those who built this union. Thank you.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Thank you, David. (Applause)

At Microphone No. 4, Delegate Gardler.

**DELEGATE TIMOTHY JAMES GARDLER (Local 13000):** I strongly oppose this proposal. We elect our District Vice Presidents. We expect our Vice Presidents to work with our elected bargaining committee to negotiate our contract, to develop a working relationship with our companies, to be familiar with our contract, and to have staff that I can call on to make certain my contract is upheld.

This proposal would turn our bargaining process upside down. Instead of authority resting in our bargaining council, elected bargaining committee, and our elected vice president, it would give the authority and control to yet another officer-- one person-- maybe someone not so familiar with my contract and what's important to me and my members.

Does that matter? You bet it does. I want to know that my voice and my members' voices are being heard. We voted to establish a bargaining council that will provide direction and guidance in negotiations. We just voted to mandate that the Vice Presidents with contracts with the same company agree before signing off on a National Issue. If we vote for this and we create a Telecom Sector Vice President, he or she will decide whether or not a district can sign off on a national issue. That contradicts what we just adopted.

So what do we want? Do we want our elected Vice Presidents to have to agree before settling on a national issue, or do we want one Vice President for all of our telecom making this decision? Do you remember President Bush always saying, "I am the decider"? That didn't work out so well for our country.

We don't need a telecom decider. It's too much power in one person's hands. Let's keep the authority with our bargaining councils, bargaining committees, and our District Vice Presidents. Thank you. (Applause)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Microphone 5, Delegate Daszkowski.

**DELEGATE RICHARD DASZKOWSKI (NABET-CWA Local 59057**): Also a member of the ABC Television Network Bargaining Committee. I have a question. On page 10, starting with line 419 of the committee report, it states in part that, quote, "Implementation of the proposed amendment would force major structural changes within our union," close quote.

I would like to know in detail what the impact of these major structural changes would be, including

but not limited to changes in the duties and responsibilities of District Vice Presidents, the estimated revenue and budget dollar amount allocation shifts from the various districts to the new telecom sector, and what impact such revenue and budget shifts would have on the ability of districts to continue to be fully functional, viable administrative units as required under the Constitution.

**CHAIR BUCSKO:** We have three members of our Committee who are from Telecom, and they are going to address the questions.

**DELEGATE HATCH:** As far as the scope in regard to the finances and that type of thing, that's outside of the scope that we can talk about. We will say this: The Committee reviewed this very fully.

In the narrative that was provided along with the amendment, the proposed amendment, it clearly states-- and I will just read from it. This is in the narrative provided for No. 6 on the creation of a Telecom Sector Vice President from those that proposed this amendment:

"Duties of a Telecom Vice President should include all the bargaining and representational responsibilities currently held by the T&T Vice President, as well as the bargaining responsibilities now vested with District Vice Presidents with telecom industry units under their jurisdictions today."

In the conversations that we had with the members of the Executive Board, including the T&T Vice President, all of them felt that this would create widespread changes in the fact that all of the responsibilities that are now outlined in the Constitution for these districts for the District Vice Presidents would then have to be transferred under a new Telecom VP, thus taking away all of the resources that they have now to do that function.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Chair, is that it?

CHAIR BUCSKO: Yes it is, sir.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** The question was somewhat complicated, so you got a complicated answer back.

At Microphone No. 3, Delegate Demers.

**DELEGATE WILLIAM DEMERS (Local 9400):** Also a member of AT&T in the last round of the AT&T West Bargaining Committee in '09 and again in 2012.

I think there's some misunderstanding being communicated. I understand that the intent of this is to put the authority into a sector. We have other sectors that function well. We are asking for the same.

We hear the word "czar" thrown around. The irony of that is the opposite. What we have now are mini-czars. We have districts that can settle contracts that harm the members in other districts. Those districts are not accountable. (Applause and cheers)

What we seek here is accountability first and coordination.

Back to the other question I just heard, our vision of this is that they would use the regional resources that exist. And I will use AT&T West for an example. What I would fully expect to happen is, if that contract came up, our bargaining councils-- and just to clarify, we see these amendments as complementary, not in conflict-- but the bargaining councils would still function. Election bargaining committees would still function.

If somebody in District 9, either Jim Weitkamp or one of his staff he wanted to appoint to be the chief negotiator for the contract, that could all be done through local resources. You see that working the

same in every district. We don't see a lot of transfer of resources. We see more democracy, and that's what this should be about.

We have left the company-- and I'll say this. We are dealing with corporations. I'll focus on AT&T, but it holds true of all these corporations-- Verizon, West all of them. Unfortunately, whether we want to admit it or not, these are very smart people that run these corporations. They do long-term planning. They do goal-setting. They strategize implemental steps toward their desired ends.

We, on the other hand, don't respond in kind as an organization. We don't have anybody responsible 365 days year to look at a corporation like AT&T in a strategic way, anticipating what they are doing and seeing how it fits in the big picture.

AT&T has this union divided up into, what, I believe four Mobility contracts, five wireline contracts, internet contracts. The same labor relations folks that micromanage every set of those bargains, they move the pieces around intelligently as if they were playing chess. And it seems to us we have been kicking the can, and sometimes it's kicking the can down the road.

Different people are asked to bargain different contracts, maybe a Mobility contract over here and an internet contract over there, a core contract over here. We have had failed attempts at coordination and oversight. To quote your words, "If not now, when?" (Applause and cheers)

We cannot let these corporations continue to destroy this union and the gains we have made over the years. We are disenfranchising our members, especially the new younger members. We talk about the next generation. These young members that are coming up are looking at what's happening in these contracts. They are looking at the downgrading of work. They are seeing the companies outsmarting us.

And if you want to do any movement-building, I would suggest we start movement-building right here internally (applause and cheers) and get something that is a union value-- and it's called "unity"-- ahead of what I hear is in conflict which is called "autonomy."

Lastly, we talk about the Triangle. We need to understand the Triangle. The foundation is representation. If our members feel fairly represented, they will respect the union. They will participate in the union. They will talk favorably about the union to their friends and neighbors. They will be inclined to follow the recommendations of the union on how to vote.

Conversely, if they feel about bad about the union, bad about their contracts, try and organize, people will say, "I have a friend in that union and he says it sucks." You go approach a politician and say, "I represent some of these workers," they are going to look at you and go, "Yeah, but they are not going to vote how you tell them."

So until we get our bargaining straight, until we honestly fix the problem we experienced in '09 and '12, we will have a problem in this union.

Lastly I'll say, the Councils that we just approved, and I am for that, but it's been weakened a little bit since its inception because we staggered the expiration date to these contracts. We have a lot of work to do. And trying to get one house in order to me is the solution.

So I urge everybody to support the amendment to the Constitution. Thank you. (Applause)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Microphone No. 4, Delegate Wagner.

**DELEGATE JAMES WAGNER (Local 1122):** I understand that there have been some problems at the bargaining table. We just amended our Constitution to remedy these problems.

Delegates, we need to give the bargaining councils a chance to work, and it will work. Collectively we will make it work. (Applause) And that's because it's based on the democratic principles that CWA stands for.

In contrast, establishing a Telecom Sector Vice President will put too much power into hands of one person. (Applause) That person will not know the details of every negotiation at every company. That person will not know the bargaining history behind each negotiation. That person won't have the relationships with our employers. A Telecom Sector Vice President will make collective bargaining much worse. It will add another layer to the process.

We elect bargaining committees to negotiate for us. (Applause and cheers) Let us allow them to do their work with new guidance from the bargaining council.

Bargaining is tougher than ever today. No question about it. One person, no matter how talented, can't fix it. As President Cohen stated earlier, we need a check and counterbalance.

This proposal compromises that. I am voting "no" on this proposal and I urge you all to do the same. (Applause and cheers)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Microphone 1, Delegate Bachelor.

**DELEGATE JOHN BACHELOR (Local 2111):** Move to close debate and call the question.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** There is a motion to call the question. It requires a two-thirds vote. All those in favor-- and it's non-debatable-- all those in favor of calling the question indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed?

We will continue debate. Thank you. (Applause and cheers) We are at the Questions mike. Delegate Miller.

**DELEGATE ANGELA MILLER (Local 4108):** Does this proposal remove the authority for telecom bargaining from the District VPs?

#### PRESIDENT COHEN: Committee?

**CHAIR BUCSKO:** Yes. This proposal does remove (boos from the floor) the authority for bargaining from the District VPs.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Wait, wait. Respect each other, please. You get to vote, so let people talk, please.

**CHAIR BUCSKO:** As submitted, this proposal would place that responsibility on the Telecom Sector Vice President.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Now we are back to Microphone 3, Delegate Woods. I'm sorry, not Delegate Woods. Delegate Gibson.

One second, Greg. Did you have a second question? It was not on this sheet--

DELEGATE MILLER: Yes.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** It wasn't written down. Sorry.

DELEGATE MILLER: That's okay. If this proposal passes, how will it impact the assignment of

district staff and their availability to support their locals?

### PRESIDENT COHEN: Committee?

**DELEGATE HATCH:** When the Committee reviewed this-- and as I said earlier, we reviewed this extensively-- we asked that question. And for the vice presidents that we talked to, including the T&T Sector Vice President, they felt that it would make that change, and there would be a restructuring in some sort of form or fashion.

This was also part of the narrative that was provided with this proposal in that it did mention, as I mentioned earlier, that the duties that are currently for bargaining with the District Vice Presidents would switch over to this Telecom Sector Vice President.

### PRESIDENT COHEN: Thank you.

Microphone 3, Delegate Gibson.

**DELEGATE GREG GIBSON (Local 9586):** Sisters and brothers, I didn't write a speech but I'm going to tell you what I experienced. I am an elected bargaining committee member that was referenced at the Against mike.

What we are currently doing is not working. I strongly believe in One Union. I have stood with my AT&T sisters and brothers. I have stood with NABET. I have made calls for AFA. I believe in One Union.

The way we are bargaining is not One Union. (Applause and cheers) For me and the other elected bargaining committee members, we are not accountants, and most of us aren't mathematicians. I have a few college degrees, but I don't have all those answers. And for me to sit there at the table as if I'm starting from scratch when brothers and sisters on the East Coast spent 16 months going over the same damn proposals is ridiculous. (Applause)

To not have that coordination, to not have that dialogue and support from the other districts that know very well what's coming our way is not working. Verizon flies their people from New Jersey that were out here when the East was bargaining. They know exactly what they are going to put on the table. They know exactly what they are going to give us. And, frankly, what they are trying to give us is former GTE. Well, I don't work for GTE. I work for-- well, CWA primarily-- but Verizon. And to say that because some of our members once worked for GTE that we're supposed to take a lower level, we busted our asses when the East Coast was in their fight, and I am proud of it and I am proud of what they did. (Applause)

But I have to say, I'm not feeling the love and I'm not feeling the One Union when they are sitting there telling California, "Even though you are Verizon now, you were once GTE and you are expected to take a lower package, you are expected to take a bigger cut on your health care benefits," and basically eat shit and not be one union. Well, it's one company. I think we need to be one union, and I think having that single point will give us that. (Applause) Thank you.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Microphone 4, Delegate Henderson.

**DELEGATE BILL HENDERSON (Local 1298):** My brothers and sisters, I am proud to stand here before you today. I am here to tell you that this resolution is not a solution, but it will add more confusion to the process that we already are dealing with.

I would rather have a district person who understands the issues represent me before a group of AT&T thieves, thugs, the bastards that we have to deal with every day at the bargaining table, than I would one person who might not understand my issues. (Applause and cheers)

Unity is the issue here. Autonomy can never work. And I think this is what we just passed with the resolution on the bargaining committees. This is in opposition to what we've just said.

I believe in one union, one fight, one future-- not just words, but to understand we are all in this together. And this resolution will not get us to where we want to be. (Applause)

It's not a question of doing something because something didn't work, but it's to understand what the problem is. And the problem is, if we don't stick together, we are all going to lose. I have seen across this country every district fall down and leave us standing for the last one. Twice this has happened, not once. History repeats itself. But until we understand that we are all in this fight together-- and it's not "how I get mine" that's going to get us there-- we are never going to win. It's us here who are going to change this. (Applause and cheers)

One of the biggest losses I'm going to have if this resolution passes is losing my staff rep, who is essential to my bargaining and understanding the issues that we have before those bastards AT&T. She is integral to my success at the bargaining table and key to the future of our union and the communications that have go on together.

This is not the answer. This is just avoiding the issue. I believe that this will not lead to a stronger union, but we will have one person who will, without a doubt, be controlling our destiny for everyone, whether for good or for bad. (Applause)

I urge you to vote "no," knowing that we have got to give the bargaining councils a chance. I was part of the Committee of Eight. I have seen this every time for the last six years. This is the way not to go. The way to go is to say "no" and to go forward. Thank you. (Applause and cheers)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Microphone 5, Delegate Woods.

**DELEGATE TEREZ WOODS (Local 4309):** Honorable dais, most honorable sisters and brothers: I would like to know, since everything is based on democracy, what rights do I have and the people that I represent to opt out of this process? And I do have a second question.

PRESIDENT COHEN: Committee.

**CHAIR BUCSKO:** Could you please clarify the question? I'm not sure that we understand your intent.

**DELEGATE WOODS:** I apologize. I will be more than happy to.

Everything in this union is based on the principles of democracy. Democracy means I have the right to choose. I have the right to choose who I think will represent me, and I have the right to vote up or vote down things that I don't agree with currently.

Now you are talking about a proposal which will take all of that away from me, and instead I will have to accept the decisions of one person who potentially I don't support, don't believe in, and never voted for. So where is my democratic right, and how do I exercise it to opt out of this proposal? (Applause)

**CHAIR BUCSKO:** I would suggest to you that your answer will be that, if this does come to a roll call vote, you will be able to exercise your democratic vote.

**DELEGATE WOODS:** I have a second question.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Second question.

**DELEGATE WOODS:** Actually that was not a viable answer. So my second question is: The whole principle of the union is based upon the right to vote. My members vote for me, I vote for the vice president, and so on and so on and so on. I want to be able to exercise my right to represent my members in the best way. Where in this proposal does that allow that to happen?

**CHAIR BUCSKO:** I would say, speaking on behalf of the Committee, we did not recommend this proposal. I mean, I can't speak to how your individual rights would be affected in any way. But again, I would just repeat what I said earlier. I think this proposal is on the floor, and if it does come to a roll call vote, you will have a right to exercise your democratic vote to decide whether this is something you want to support or not, and in that way you will be represented.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Microphone No. 3, Delegate Santora.

**DELEGATE T SANTORA (Local 9003):** I really wasn't intending to speak on this proposal, but I have to make some clarifications. As one of the over 100 authors of this proposal who are here in this line, let me try to address a couple issues.

First and foremost, I would ask that the delegates review the proposal and look on Page 8, beginning on Line 330 and continuing to 334. It's probably the most important piece of this proposal. The last words, "as determined by the Executive Board--" and you just heard Larry explain-- or pardon me, Larry, <u>not</u> explain-- why we don't have an answer for why Mobility is not in the T&T shop. That's because the Executive Board gets to make those decisions.

The Executive Board, whom we all have a vote with if it's a district, and if you are in a sector you have two votes on that board, and we all get to vote for Secretary-Treasurer and the President. So there is plenty of democracy there at the Executive Board.

Furthermore, I believe that the Committee has erroneously stated that this proposal would create structural chaos and a massive move of resources. Nothing could be further from the truth. Every District Vice President today represents people in other sectors. Every District Vice President has multiple duties, one of which is bargaining for those contracts residing in their district. Every District Vice President has grievance work, has education work, has political work, has unity-building work in this union. Nothing in this proposal takes any of that away. (Applause) Nothing in this proposal demands any of that.

But what this proposal does reiterate, as it does for every one of the Sector Vice Presidents sitting on that dais, "as determined by the Executive Board."

Now to the point that people are worried about-- having one individual make some decisions about a contract they may not be familiar with-- I want to remind the delegates of the proposal that we just adopted, that I supported. If these Vice Presidents, who have been unable to stay unified throughout AT&T bargaining, it will go to guess who? One person who may not be familiar with my little contract. (Applause and cheers)

And guess what? That decision will also be "as determined by the Executive Board." Nothing in this proposal changes any of that. It's a smokescreen.

What I suggest to you is what my Irish grandmother taught me many, many moons ago-- it's an old Irish proverb-- fool me once, shame on you. Fool me twice, shame on all of us.

Please, let's get this fixed once and for all. Vote "yes" on this proposal. (Applause and cheers)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Microphone No. 4, is there someone-- I don't have a card here, but I see a big line. Does someone wish to speak?

**DELEGATE KEVIN SHEIL (Local 1103):** This is not a structural problem. This is a leadership problem, and we are trying to circumvent trying to find solutions by going around and creating more bureaucracy. We have to stand together, and if you are having problems getting good contracts because our leaders aren't doing what you feel they need to do, then you know what you have a right to do? You have a right to vote them out.

But what you don't have a right to do is, you don't have the right to force members who don't want to be under a telecom sector into a telecom sector. This is going to create more animosity among the ranks which we don't have the luxury to go through right now. We have to come together. But the way to come together is not what's in this proposal.

Also, in my opinion, and the people who are sending me their opinion as well, you do not want Washington, DC, to control your destiny. Bargaining must be done locally. Bargaining must be done by the district, by the people who know the contracts, by the people who know the history. It cannot be centralized out of Washington, DC.

So I urge everyone to stand up against this motion. Thank you. (Applause and cheers)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Microphone No. 1, Delegate Letts.

**DELEGATE RYAN LETTS (Local 4034):** I call the question.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** A motion to close debate is not debatable. It requires a two-thirds vote. All those in favor of the motion to close debate, please indicate by raising your hands. Down hands. Opposed? Debate is closed.

We are now voting on the amendment. I will wait until you take your seats.

Okay, we are now voting on Amendment No. 6. All those in favor of Amendment 6 please indicate by raising your hands. Down hands. Against? It is defeated. (Applause and cheers)

... Cries of "roll call" ...

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** A roll call vote requires support from 20 percent of the delegates. All those in favor of a roll call vote, please indicate by raising your hands. Keep your hands up, please.

Down hands. Opposed? We will conduct a roll call vote.

This is what democracy looks like, and that vote was close enough. It was close enough that we will have the roll call vote. I will ask the Secretary-Treasurer to prepare for the roll call vote, but it is 2:46, and in four minutes we will stand for a moment of silence.

So, Secretary-Treasurer, do you want to explain the roll call vote process?

**SECRETARY-TREASURER HILL:** While we are waiting for the roll call computers to be set up, let me explain to you the general procedures. We will be using our computers to conduct the roll call simultaneously at two separate locations in front of the platform. You will be using the bar code on the back of your delegate badge to cast your roll call vote. Please remove your badge from the plastic holder. This procedure will help to reduce the time to take this vote.

During the roll call, Sergeants-at-Arms will be assisting you. If you have any questions regarding your voting strength or have problems voting, the Credentials Committee is standing by to my right to assist. A full audit record of each vote cast will be made and a printout will be included in the Convention Proceedings.

The procedures are as follows: No. 1: You will present your delegate badge to the Sergeant-at-Arms for verification. The Sergeant-at-Arms is responsible for verifying the photo ID to the person presenting the badge. The Sergeant-at-Arms will then direct you to the next available voting terminal.

No. 2: After swiping your badge through the card reader, your name and local number will be displayed on the computer screen. You may then cast your vote by pressing the Y-key for "yes" or the N-key for "no."

No. 3: Once you have made your vote selection, you will have the opportunity to review your vote before it is finalized. You may cancel or change your vote prior to confirming it.

No. 4: You must confirm your vote by touching "OK". After you have confirmed your vote, it is finalized and you will not be permitted to change it or vote again.

No. 5: If an alternate is voting on a delegate's behalf, the alternate must go to the Credentials Committee station located at the side of the podium and present both the delegate and the alternate badges.

No. 6: The voting stations will remain open two minutes after the last delegate in line has stepped forward to vote. The voting stations will then be closed. The results will be announced from the podium.

No. 7: You will be notified when to line up in the two inside aisles of the delegates seating area. Once you are done voting, please exit the voting area by using the outer aisles of the delegate seating area.

It will take approximately 15 minutes to set up the computer stations.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Please stand for a moment of silence.

... A moment of silence was observed for the victims of the Boston bombing ...

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Thank you. We will now conduct the roll call vote as described by the Secretary-Treasurer.

... The Convention stood at ease during the voting process ....

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** All remaining delegates should be in line to vote. The line is pretty much gone. We are going to close voting momentarily.

... The voting continued ...

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** There are open stations on this end if anyone is in line or hasn't voted. On either side now, actually, there are open stations. As soon as they are done, these will be closed.

... The voting continued ...

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** No one else in line. Voting is closed. We will have the tally in a minute.

... The Convention stood at ease while the ballots were counted ...

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Results: On Amendment No. 6, "yes" votes 113,300; "no" votes, 217,559. It is defeated. (Applause and cheers)

At Microphone 1, Delegate Wojtowicz.

**DELEGATE SHARI WOJTOWICZ (Local 7250):** I make a motion to amend Article XII, Section 5, of the Constitution to include AT&T Mobility under the responsibilities of the Telecom and Technologies Vice President. (Applause)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Do you have a second?

... The motion was seconded from the floor ...

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** You can speak on your motion.

**DELEGATE WOJTOWICZ:** Thank you.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** And let me say, as you know, this requires a three-quarters vote as we announced earlier. The delegate is aware of that?

**DELEGATE WOJTOWICZ:** Yes, thank you.

Regardless of the contract in Mobility that the workers are under, whether they are in network, retail or call centers, they all experience the same issues, no matter where they are located throughout the country or which contract they lie under. More specifically, the workers under the orange contract are spread across five districts, and the workers deserve to be united. There are over 40,000 AT&T Mobility workers, and they deserve a permanent home in CWA, so I ask for your support for this motion today.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** I don't see any delegates speaking for or against. Therefore, that amendment is before you. Again, it requires a three-quarters vote. All those in favor of the amendment, please--

... Cries of "Wait" ...

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Someone is at the Against mike, sorry. Just go ahead if you don't mind. I don't have a card. I will recognize the delegate at Mike 4. State your name and local, please. You don't need that telephone right now. Go ahead.

**DELEGATE DOUGLAS GRANT (Local 1101):** I just wanted to say, you know, that definitely we are totally against it. We have a very unique situation in our district, one of them being I have a friend at a call center in New Jersey who does a specialized function that's completely different than the entire country. For this to be put into Washington's hands for only Washington to make the decision on what happens with AT&T and Mobility affects all the members in our district.

We believe that all the efforts that were put into mobilization for the contract, I saw participation at levels I never saw before, and that was based on what our District VP and the locals in the district put together to work hard enough to get all our members to support the union and to be more active in the membership and to be involved in trying to get a better contract for Mobility.

Even though we didn't get everything that we wanted in this contract, I believe we were able to build off of what we did achieve in the mobilization process. And we are totally against moving Mobility into a different sector outside of the districts. Thank you. (Applause) **PRESIDENT COHEN:** Microphone 3, Delegate Yoakem.

**DELEGATE MICHAEL YOAKEM (Local 3371):** I have been with Mobility for ten years, and for ten years the company has worked to keep us divided in the call centers, in the stores, at the local, district and the national level. I would like to voice my support.

I think we need to give AT&T Mobility a seat at the table. It's time for us to get our due, and I think by working nationally is going to be the means to get that way.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Microphone 5, Delegate Santora.

**DELEGATE T SANTORA (Local 9003):** The question I have, on the contract that was just ratified for Mobility in the orange contract, under whose jurisdiction was the chief negotiator?

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** We had a structure with Secretary-Treasurer Hill, and we had Jana Smith-Carr at the table. She is from District 7, which had one of the two districts, including yours, with the most members. The bargaining was in Denver, and we had support from the Assistant to the Telecom and Technology Vice President Bill Bates. And then obviously there were other staff, but I think that was what you wanted to hear, right? There were other people involved-- research, et cetera.

**DELEGATE SANTORA:** I wanted to find out who had the bargaining authority. The other brother made it sound like it was District 1.

So the second question: How was it done in the previous contract?

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Annie, do you remember that? That would have been four years ago in this case.

**SECRETARY-TREASURER HILL:** At that time, there was still an Executive Vice President which happened to be myself, and Bill Bates was reporting to me and also to the Telecom and Technologies office. He was the one who chaired the negotiations for the orange contract. That happened first in Richmond and then in DC, and I supported him on that. And then he also worked with-- he was also at the bargaining table with both District 3 and District 6 when their contracts were up.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Microphone 4, Delegate Bailey.

**DELEGATE RACHEL BAILEY (Local 1118):** Good afternoon. I am an employee of AT&T Wireless and a member, like I said, of Local 1118's Executive Board. In 1998, we were employees of Cellular One. I worked with others like myself to get a union. We then became Cingular Wireless, and from there, like we are now, AT&T Mobility.

Since getting our first contract, myself and others in our district reached out to other districts and networked, and we were building movement in our Mobility employees. We work closely with other Mobility locals in our district and with the district reps, and have recently created a Mobility Council within District 1.

I urge everybody today to not break what we have built so hard to have today. We are finally seeing solidarity amongst all of our members. From the bottom of my heart, I am urging you guys to please not vote for this and to help us build what we have and what we are so proud that we have built today. Thank you. (Applause)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Microphone 1, Delegate Taylor.

**DELEGATE BYRON TAYLOR (Local 2202):** Call for the question.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** That motion is not debatable. It's a motion to close debate. All those in favor of closing debate, please indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed? Debate is closed.

We are now voting on the amendment. Again, it requires a-- please take your seats, sorry. While you are being seated, we are voting on the amendment. It requires a three-quarters vote to adopt.

Okay. We are now voting on the amendment that would move Mobility bargaining to the Telecom and Technology office. As I said, it requires a three-quarters vote. All those in favor of the amendment, please indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed. It is defeated. (Applause)

I thank the Constitution Committee for their hard work and service. (Applause) Thank you.

I now call to the podium Brooks Sunkett, our Vice President for Public, HealthCare & Education Workers, and the National Committee on Civil Rights and Equity, to the podium. Thank you, Brooks.

... Vice President Sunkett assumed the Chair ...

VICE PRESIDENT BROOKS SUNKETT: Thank you, President Cohen.

At this time I would like to introduce the National Committee on Civil Rights and Equity:

Gloria Middleton, Secretary-Treasurer, CWA Local 1180, Chair Vera Mikell, Executive Vice President, CWA Local 2205 Hector Capote, Steward, CWA Local 3122 Diane Bailey, Vice President, CWA Local 4310 Josiah Garcia, President, CWA Local 6127 Paul Castaneda, Executive Vice President, CWA Local 7019 Frank Arce, Vice President, CWA Local 9400

I would like to recognize at this time the Committee for purposes of the report of the National Committee on Civil Rights and Equity.

... The various members of the Committee read portions of the report which is included in its entirety as follows: ...

## **DELEGATE GLORIA MIDDLETON (Committee Chair):**

### TAKING A LOOK AT THE GUN PROTECTION LAWS IN OUR COUNTRY

Stand Your Ground, Trevon Martin, justifiable homicide. Virginia Tech, 32 people killed, 17 wounded. James Holmes, accused of killing 12 people in a movie theater in Colorado. Jacob Roberts shot two people and took his own life in a shopping mall near Portland, Oregon. Adam Lanza killed 20 young children and 6 adults in an elementary school in Newtown, Connecticut. Sisters and Brothers, it is time we have an honest discussion.

This is your CWA Civil Rights & Equity Committee. Some of you may be asking, "How is the gun issue relevant to civil rights & equity?" That is a fair question considering that the media only covers the most horrific tragedies like Virginia Tech and Newtown. But, in the African American and Hispanic communities, in the inner city neighborhoods, on the blocks where I live in New York City, these tragedies happen every day.

Every day, guns disproportionately kill African Americans and Latinos. Every day, African Americans and Latinos are sent to jail for possession of guns. Every day, innocent African Americans are "stopped and frisked" for guns because of the color of their skin and where they live. Sisters and Brothers, guns are very much a civil rights & equity issue.

Some believe that the solution to the gun problem need only focus on people and not guns themselves. It is this short-sighted thinking that leads to misguided and prejudicial "Stand Your Ground" laws and "Stop and Frisk" policies.

When do we have the discussion in this country of what to do about how guns are issued and distributed? When do we have the discussion of how we treat and take care of the mentally ill in this country? When do we talk about the fact that in minority communities most African American males wonder if they will live to see the age of thirty or be incarcerated for a major part of their life due to lack of jobs and discriminatory police practices, as well as the use of illegal guns?

Sixteen states have "stand your ground" laws or "Castle Doctrine." The fact of the matter is that these laws have increased the so-called justifiable homicides from 17 percent to 50 percent in these states. An economics professor and a PhD student at Texas A&M University did this study. They found significant evidence that the laws actually increase the homicide rate rather than decrease the rate in these states. And, they have no impact on crime.

"Stop and Frisk" has become a big debate in New York City. The current Mayor promulgated this police procedure with the Police Commissioner to deter crime and get guns off the street. Quoting from the *New York Times*, "The NYC Police Department has come under increased scrutiny in recent years over the racial disparities and the sheer volume of street stops it makes under its 'stop, question and frisk' policy."

In 2011, the records show that police made over 680,000 stops. Eighty percent of those people stopped were Black or Latino. There is currently a class action lawsuit accusing the department of using race as a basis for stops. Four precincts have the highest use rate of this policy. Guess which neighborhoods these precincts are located in? Yes, you are correct, Black and Latino neighborhoods.

There is a myth that "Stop and Frisk" gets guns off the street and, therefore, prevents murders. The fact is that, according to the New York Civil Liberties Union, guns are found in less than .2 percent of stops. What actually happens in these stops is that young Black and Latino men are arrested for resisting arrest, carrying illegal substances like marijuana, and are then placed in the system. Many of them never get their name pulled out of this system and, therefore, become tarnished for life.

"Stop and Frisk" is not effective gun control. "Stop and Frisk" will never prevent another Newtown. It will, however, lead to more incarceration of African Americans and Latinos.

Over half (51 percent) of the inmates in custody on January 1, 2011, were African American, a quarter were Hispanic (25 percent), and a fifth were White (22 percent). There is something systemically unjust here. I personally have nephews and other male family members who were stopped and frisked for no good reason and feared for their life while being interrogated by a policeman on the street.

It is often said that guns don't kill people, people kill people. This is a true statement, but it does not set aside that the problem is two-fold: people who should not have guns and the availability of guns themselves. On average, 24 people die each day as result of gun violence and many more are wounded. The high rate of shootings cited earlier indicates that there is a continued need to get weapons out of the hands of people who should not have them, i.e., criminals and the mentally challenged.

The U.S. Constitution says we have the right to bear arms to protect our families and our property. On this basic right we all agree. But, when the Constitution was written, assault rifles and weapons of war did not exist. Too many of our children in African American and Latino neighborhoods, that you will never hear about on the 6:00 pm news, are being killed and murdered by illegal guns. Too many incidents are happening day to day where a mentally ill person has possession of a gun, obtained legally or illegally, and then goes on a killing spree. They take their own life and we are left stunned with yet another senseless tragedy.

The big question is: How do we resolve this gun issue? Senator Dianne Feinstein has introduced legislation on an assault weapons ban. She states, and I quote, "We must balance the desire of a few to own military-style assault weapons with the growing threat to lives across America. If 20 dead children in Newtown wasn't a wakeup call that these weapons of war don't belong on our streets, I don't know what is."

Or is it the President's plan, which includes the following:

\* closing background check loopholes to keep guns out of dangerous hands;

\* banning military-style assault weapons and high-capacity magazines, and taking other commonsense steps to reduce gun violence;

- \* making schools safer; and
- \* increasing access to mental health services.

The Civil Rights and Equity Committee believes that it is morally wrong to continue to allow the loopholes in gun laws that make it easy for anyone to obtain assault weapons. It is morally wrong to do nothing as our children die in the streets. It is morally wrong to place into legislation laws that allow African Americans and Latinos to be singled out, incarcerated, and even murdered, and call that gun control.

Brothers and Sisters, there are some issues upon which we will not all agree. That is not only okay, but how it should be in a truly diverse and democratic organization such as CWA. However, even on controversial issues, this union has always, and I believe will always, strive for what is morally right. We do not run from the controversial issues, or avoid heated debate just because the problem is hard and emotional with no clear cut solution. Rather, we work through the tough issues and find agreement where we can while, at the same time, respecting the differences in opinion that remain.

Therefore, it is not essential that we all agree on how guns should be controlled or how laws should be changed that discriminate against minorities. However, it is time that we have the discussion.

Sisters and Brothers, I submit to you today, at this convention, that CWA has always been the progressive Union. The CWA National Committee on Civil Rights & Equity believes that NOW IS THE TIME FOR CHANGE! (Applause)

### COMMITTEE MEMBER MIKELL:

### INCOME INEQUALITY

Income inequality in America is something we do not often think about, we just know it exists and deal with the segregation. And it is no longer just the segregation of race; it attacks all citizens and members of society. This is a vast topic that covers wages, rights, housing, and education for all Americans.

Throughout this report we will show you some of the major impacts of income inequality and some solutions to combat one of the most critical issues in our nation.

Over the past three decades we have seen a steady decline in the average hourly wage and salaries of production and non-supervisory workers. Taking into consideration inflation and cost of living increases, earnings for most Americans are lower today than they were in 1973. Millions of Americans are buried in debt and are desperate to find a way out. Some resort to taking out a second mortgage on their homes to cover basic short-term necessities, but eventually end up losing everything.

In contrast, almost all of the country's economic gains went to the wealthiest, who have seen a dramatic increase in their income. In fact, growing wealth inequality has made the United States one of the most unequal rich nations in the world with a wealth gap wider than any other advanced country, except for Mexico and Turkey.

While the regular worker is struggling, corporate executives have seen pay increases far in excess of those enjoyed by typical workers. CEOs have always made more money than the workers they manage, but the gap has gotten increasingly larger over the years. In the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, the average pay for a CEO was \$24 to each \$1 for the average employee; today it is around \$243 to the same \$1. While the CEOs get richer, they place the costs on the backs of their employees.

When we come to the table for negotiations, the company cries that profits are down and they are losing money. In turn, they cut funding to projects that benefit the employees (healthcare, education assistance, supplies, and hours). But, they keep the excessive salaries and bonuses that are being distributed at the corporate level. The average employee has to work twice as hard and twice as long to make the same money he or she was making in the 1990s. This is what leads to the desecration of families.

In addition to addressing economic inequality as a whole, attention needs to be directed to the communities of color, as they are most impacted by the nation's economic divide. Their poverty and unemployment rates are nearly twice the national average and they are disproportionately impacted by cuts to public sector jobs.

Since 2005, African Americans, Hispanics, and Asian Americans have experienced a staggering drop in wealth. African Americans and Asian Americans have seen their net worth decrease by half, and the wealth of Hispanic Americans decrease by two-thirds. Households in the wealthiest one percent now control 225 times the net wealth as the average worker. Only 2 percent of Blacks and 1.7 percent of Latinos earn \$100,000 or more as compared to 5.7 percent of Whites.

On the other end of the equation, 33.8 percent of Blacks and 37.3 percent of Latinos earn less than \$10,000 as compared to 25.4 percent of Whites. With such few assets to fall back on in hard times and few opportunities for well-paying jobs, Black and Latino families rely heavily on unemployment insurance, Social Security, and welfare in times of need. With great shifts like this, America is turning into the wealthy and the poor, while the middle class is slowly disappearing.

Now is a critical time for working and middle class Americans to bridge the economic divide by contacting policymakers in Washington to recommend a budget that focuses not only on the deficit but also jobs and workers' rights.

We need to forge alliances with other labor organizations, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) whose mission is to ensure the political, educational, social, and economic rights of all people and eliminate race-based discrimination.

Truly, the only way for our country to pull itself out of the recession is to grow, and there is no part of the economy that needs more attention and growth than the middle and lower class.

#### **COMMITTEE MEMBER HECTOR CAPOTE:**

#### "FROM THE DARKNESS OF INEQUALITY COMES A RAINBOW OF HOPE AND JUSTICE"

The hardest part is to understand; the easiest part is to deny someone his or her human rights. The struggle for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) rights continues from Compton's Cafeteria in 1966 and Stonewall Inn in 1969 to the present. Our LGBT sisters and brothers are still fighting for equality in the workplace and general society.

According to a study published in 2001 by the Williams Institute at the UCLA School of Law, reports of discrimination based on sexual orientation are roughly equal to those on race or gender. The group that has it the hardest is our transgender brothers and sisters. In a study by the National Center for Transgender Equality (NCTE), ninety percent of those surveyed reported experiencing harassment, mistreatment, or discrimination.

It is more than numbers; it is people's lives that hang in the balance. I helped Bella (not her real name) get a job at AT&T Wireless. She was a union member. She was nervous going to the interview because her license did not show her chosen name or gender identity. According to the NCTE only one-fifth (21 percent) of transgendered people have been able to update all of their IDs and records with their new gender. Still, AT&T Wireless, within their Code of Business Conduct, had protections for gay, lesbian, and transgendered individuals.

During her new-hire orientation, she advised the company what she liked to be called and they agreed. Unfortunately, when co-workers found out her identity, the jokes and snickering started. Bella struggled with depression and hoped the union-bargained healthcare plan would cover her needed treatment. She also hoped that her healthcare coverage would help with her sex-change surgery and the required treatments.

None of it, however, was covered. She could not afford it on her own. In the end, the constant abuse caused Bella to quit AT&T Wireless. She moved out of her unsupportive parent's home. As a result of her unemployment, Bella was forced to join the underground economy to pay for illegally obtained hormone medication.

Bella's story is not uncommon. Studies show that eleven percent of transgendered individuals who have family support, versus nineteen percent with unsupportive families, join the underground economy and suicide rates double.

The study by NCTE also found that the suicide rate for transgender individuals ranged from thirtyseven percent up to sixty percent, depending on employment status. This is much higher than exists in the general population. I loved Bella, but unsupportive parents, the difficulties of finding work, and the lack of healthcare coverage was too much to overcome and we lost contact. To this day, I think about her and thank God for the lessons she taught me about the struggles of life for those that feel different.

Where do we stand at this time in our country? In December 2010, President Obama signed a bill that would allow gays to serve openly in the military, joining 44 other countries that have similar laws. On May 9, 2012, President Obama stated that he supports gay marriage, becoming the first U.S. President to ever do so while still in office. Then, in his second inaugural address, he proclaimed, "Our journey is not complete until our gay brothers and sisters are treated like anyone else under the law, for if we are truly created equal, then surely the love we commit to one another must be equal as well."

Almost half the states, and the District of Columbia, have laws that currently prohibit discrimination based on sexual orientation in both public and private jobs. Some states and local governments also prohibit workplace discrimination based on gender identity-- an individual's self-identified gender versus their anatomical sex at birth. Even in states without specific statutes, courts have sometimes interpreted

other antidiscrimination statutes, like those protecting individuals based on their gender, to include gender identity.

But this is not enough. Proposition 8 is a California ballot measure that passed in November of 2008. The measure added a new provision, Section 7.5 of the Declaration of Rights, to the California Constitution, which stated that "only marriage between a man and a woman is valid or recognized in California." By restricting the recognition of marriage to opposite-sex couples, the proposition overturned a California Supreme Court ruling that same-sex couples have a constitutional right to marry.

At the federal level, The Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) is a law that defines marriage as "the legal union of one man and one woman" for federal and inter-state recognition purposes in the United States. Section 3 of DOMA codifies the non-recognition of same-sex marriages for all federal purposes, including insurance benefits for government employees, Social Security survivors' benefits, immigration, and the filing of joint tax returns. Section 3 of DOMA has been found unconstitutional in eight federal courts, including the First and Second Circuit Court of Appeals. Nonetheless, the U.S. Supreme Court agreed to hear an appeal in one of those cases, *United States v. Windsor,* and scheduled oral arguments for March 27, 2013.

Many of my CWA sisters and brothers ask why civil unions are not enough. The answer is clear. While civil unions are a step in the right direction, our LGBT brothers and sisters still miss out on 1,138 federal benefits and protections of marriage that are only available to couples who are allowed to legally marry.

As labor density continues to decline, and progressiveness and fairness slip away, President Cohen has moved our Union towards coalition building to create a movement big enough and strong enough to restore democracy and fairness for all people in the country. The LGBT community is one of our natural allies in this movement. They, too, are workers. Many more than you may realize, like Bella, are good union members.

So, support our sisters and brothers at Pride@Work. Become a member regardless if you are "straight" or "gay." It doesn't matter. Also, support efforts for marriage equality and city ordinances for non-discrimination. We can no longer afford to focus on our superficial differences; rather, we must focus on our common core beliefs in equality, fairness, and justice.

We are an endangered species and as the famous union song asks, "Which side are you on?" We want to be on the right side of history. It is all hard work, but we have done it before and we will do it again. Just remember Bella's story and that we are all part of the rainbow of life, full of hope and justice. Love is our weapon in the civil rights fight of our generation.

#### COMMITTEE MEMBER BAILEY:

### MONEY IN POLITICS

The 2012 Election was the most expensive in history and a small subset of wealthy donors overwhelmingly outspent average citizens. The numbers speak for themselves. The top 32 Super PACs gave an average of \$9.9 million each and almost sixty percent of Super PAC funding came from just 159 donors with contributions of \$1 million or more. More than ninety percent of the money Super PACs raised came in donations of \$10,000 or more from an incredibly small number of individuals. And, after wealthy individuals, for-profit corporations were the second largest donors to Super PACs.

Furthermore, more than 30 percent of outside spending, of which Super PACs account for more than half, was "secret spending" that cannot be traced back to its original source, preventing citizens from being able to fairly judge the content of political messaging.

As we can see, spending on modern elections is completely dominated by the wealthy and their special interests. Not only does this outsized spending help win elections for candidates favored by the wealthy elite, in many cases even opposition candidates are forced to take policy positions that favor this small group just to stay competitive in elections.

Furthermore, because of the enormous cost of campaigning, average citizens have no chance of running in an election without having previous wealth. The average citizen's donation has no chance of competing with the contributions of the wealthy elite, leaving him or her with no hope of a successful election campaign.

As a result, the policy makers sent to Washington and state capitals are inherently deferential to their donors, placing the agenda of the few major contributors over the interests of the citizenry. And research indicates that those that comprise this wealthy donor class hold policy preferences that are diametrically opposed to the preferences of the vast majority of Americans.

Moreover, these wealthy donors include some of the nation's largest and richest companies, like Koch Industries, Exxon Mobile, and AT&T. They have joined forces to invest millions of dollars each year to promote the careers of thousands of lawmakers and secure passage of legislation that puts corporate interests ahead of the interests of ordinary Americans.

For example, take the case of Amgen, the world's largest biotechnology firm. The *New York Times* found that Amgen managed to convince lawmakers to sneak in a provision to the recent "fiscal cliff" bill that strongly favored one of its drugs. This provision allowed Amgen to continue to collect Medicare refunds for their drugs at inflated prices, collecting excessive profits off of taxpayer dollars. Furthermore, the lawmakers that supported this provision received tens of thousands of dollars in campaign contributions from Amgen.

Despite the American ideal of one-man/one-vote and political equality, the most recent election demonstrated that we are moving farther away from that goal. With the *Citizens United v. FEC* case, the Supreme Court permitted unlimited spending from unions, corporations, and other special interests. In the 2012 Election, we saw the effects of that ruling and how it marginalized the average citizen. We cannot continue to allow the voices of the many to be drowned out by the few.

It does not have to be this way. CWA alone cannot confront these problems. We must join forces with other likeminded AFL-CIO constituency groups, such as the A. Philip Randolph Institute (APRI), the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU), the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement (LCLAA), the Asian Pacific Alliance for Labor Advancement (APALA), the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), and Pride@Work.

Similarly, we must join forces with natural allies like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the National Domestic Workers Alliance (NDWA), the Sierra Club, the National Council of La Raza (NCLR), and the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF) to build a movement. With this movement we can push for real reform, including:

\* a constitutional amendment that limits the ability of special interests to unfairly influence elections;

\* pressuring the FEC to tighten rules on how Super PACs can coordinate with candidates, and force Super PACs to disclose their political donors;

\* pressuring Congress to allow for tax credits, or matching funds, to encourage contributions from small donors;

\* pressuring states to adopt their own laws to limit spending on elections; and

\* supporting legislation that addresses campaign finance law.

These reforms will not be easy to enact. They will certainly face opposition from the special interests and corporations that benefit from loopholes that allow them to purchase lawmakers. Fortunately, the general public is behind reform. With a strong movement of national partners and allies, we can fight back and earn an equal voice for all.

## COMMITTEE MEMBER JOSIAH GARCIA:

#### TRANS-PACIFIC PARTNERSHIP

The Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) is a trade agreement being negotiated among the United States, Canada, Mexico, Chile, Australia, Brunei, Malaysia, New Zealand, Vietnam, Singapore, and Peru. Japan is extremely interested at this time as well. Some have described it as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) on steroids. NAFTA, which went into effect in 1994, includes the United States, Canada, and Mexico.

Prior to NAFTA, in 1993, the United States had a trade surplus with Mexico of \$1.6 billion. By 2010, the deficit with Mexico totaled \$97.2 billion. Between 1994 and 2010 almost 683,000 U.S. jobs were displaced to Mexico; one can only imagine how many more jobs we will lose with eleven other countries involved. In the 1992 presidential debate on NAFTA Ross Perot said, "There will be a giant sucking sound going south." We now know that sucking sound is the sound of jobs leaving the United States.

The TPP has been shrouded in secrecy. All journalists, nearly all businesses and public interest groups, and the majority of Congress have been denied effective access to the negotiating texts. Even Ron Wyden, Chairman of the Senate Trade Subcommittee, has not been permitted to see the text or to know the contents. However, 600 corporate advisors-- including Verizon and Wal-Mart-- have been given access. The actual text will not be released until four years after the talks have been concluded or a deal has been reached. Only the negotiating nations' trade representatives and their advisors know the current content because the text of the agreement is classified and concealed. Fortunately, there have been some leaks of key documents so that we can have a sense of what is happening.

Will the TPP include effective and enforceable protections of labor rights? Only time will tell. Failure to include enforceable labor rights, such as collective bargaining, would allow a number of countries to continue current policies that impose low wages and poor working conditions and fail to recognize basic labor rights. If ample and enforceable labor standards are not included, U.S. workers would be at a disadvantage as they compete against low wages and a low standard of labor practices.

Additionally, the agreement must have some guarantee against the loss of jobs in the United States. Without such a guarantee, the agreement will only further degrade our already fragile economy and put more people out of work.

However, the TPP will provide significant enforceable privileges for private corporations that include the following:

- \* rights to acquire land, natural resources, factories without government review;
- \* rights to sue the U.S. government in an international arbitration tribunal;
- \* risks and costs of off-shoring to low wage countries eliminated;
- \* special guaranteed "minimum standard of treatment" for relocating firms;

\* compensation for loss of "expected future profits" from health, labor, or environmental laws (indirect or regulatory); and

\* the right to move capital without limits.

Basically, foreign corporations operating in the United States would not be held accountable to our laws regarding protection for the environment or labor rights and could appeal to international arbitration tribunals, which would be given the authority to override U.S. laws.

Under the leaked TPP chapter on investment, foreign corporations could bypass domestic courts and laws and sue governments directly before a tribunal of lawyers operating under World Bank and United Nations rules. These corporate investors could demand compensation for any domestic law that they believe will reduce their expected future profits. Simply stated, the corporations will become more powerful than ever before.

A U.S. environmental proposal was put on the table at the negotiating session in September 2011. It reportedly contains components on conservation, core commitments, and policies for environmental standards, but the exact details and current information are unavailable. TPP countries have not yet been able to agree on a set of policies for corporations to meet in relation to environmental standards. Environmental concerns are extremely important. As we now know, climate change is a very real threat with serious consequences for our health and our economy.

Additionally, the TPP could require the United States and other countries to import food that does not meet domestic safety standards. The United States could see a major increase of contaminated food imported from abroad. Currently, around ninety percent of the seafood consumed in the United States is imported. A study published in the *Journal of Food Protection* estimated that the economic loss due to food illnesses is around \$77 billion a year. This is with our current food safety standards!

Leaked documents also show that the U.S. Trade Representative is pressuring TPP countries to expand pharmaceutical monopoly protections. The TPP would extend patents beyond 20 years. Partner countries would also be forced to grant new patents for expired patented drugs that have been formulated in a new way or approved for a new set of patients. This would make it more difficult for cheaper generic drugs to be produced. Countries would also be allowed to patent diagnostic, therapeutic, and surgical methods of treatment.

Our current law restricts the enforcement of surgical patents, as we do not want doctors wondering if they will be subjected to a patent infringement lawsuit every time they do surgery.

Sisters and Brothers, TPP is yet another "back door" for corporations to gain more power by exploiting the American workforce, environment, and economy through low foreign wages, unrepresented workers, fewer regulations, and far less oversight and accountability. We must pressure the Obama administration to adopt practices that protect workers, consumers, and give us equal access to the negotiations.

We must also pressure members of Congress to push for the adoption of good practices and policies. We must stand up and demand that our government protects hard-working Americans and our jobs.

### COMMITTEE MEMBER PAUL CASTANEDA:

#### **IMMIGRATION REFORM AND VOTER SUPPRESSION**

Most immigrant workers come to this country with the goal of looking for better-paying jobs, being

able to provide for their families, and a better way of life.

This is not much different than why we joined the CWA. Yet, most arrive with few resources and often find themselves confined to the bottom of the labor market, where wages are low, working conditions are poor, and benefits and opportunities for promotion are limited or nonexistent. Many face wage theft and low safety standards.

Because predatory employers take advantage of undocumented workers, working standards for all citizens are lowered as well: male citizens saw a reduction in earnings of nearly four percent from 1980 to 2000 as the result of these practices.

Over the last few decades, the undocumented immigrant workforce grew steadily until the current economic downturn. It is difficult to imagine any scenario in which low-wage immigrants, including those who presently lack legal status, cease to be a significant element in the U.S. labor market. Even among advocates of immigration restriction, few are proposing a wholesale expulsion of the estimated eleven million who currently lack legal status.

Although the previous influx of unauthorized immigrants has come to a halt as a result of the economic crisis, the outflow has been exceedingly modest, and indeed the influx of *legal* immigrants has actually increased slightly since the recession began.

Some people in this room may believe the myths of undocumented immigrants:

**They take our jobs** - There has not been a single serious study that could prove this myth to be reality. Economists at Harvard University have concluded that illegal immigration has only caused a negligible reduction in the salaries of unqualified workers. Undocumented immigrants take on all the heaviest and most harmful work like harvesting fruits and vegetables treated with pesticides.

**Undocumented immigrants do not want to study English** - Data from the last census show only 2.5 percent of Spanish speaking residents do not speak English.

A fence along the border with Mexico will solve the problem - Even the far right understands that a wall is simply an obstacle, not a deterrent. The preservation of worker rights and protections in Mexico will keep far more from crossing the border than any wall ever will.

**Undocumented immigrants take advantage of benefits** - Undocumented immigrants pay exactly the same taxes as everyone else does: sales, income, Social Security, and property taxes in the form of rent. Undocumented immigrants bring almost \$50 billion annually to the American economy without receiving anything in return.

A range of efforts to win a path for legalization for undocumented immigrants has gradually grown across the country, with recent polls showing 71 percent of U.S citizens in favor of a path to citizenship. After the re-election of President Obama, Republicans are said to be re-evaluating their stance on comprehensive immigration reform. Why? Because 1.3 million more Latinos voted in 2012 than in 2008.

While an estimated 12.5 million Latinos voted for President Obama last November, there were still 11.2 million more Latinos who were eligible, but chose to not vote. When you add the 5.4 million permanent residents who could not vote because they have not yet become naturalized U.S. citizens, combined with the 7.1 million unauthorized and the 17.6 million under the age of 18, the GOP knows that the only way to win in the future is to restrict the Latino vote.

Recent polls show that more than three in five union members are in favor of a comprehensive immigration reform proposal that includes a path to citizenship and stops the exploitation of immigrant labor. The labor policy framework must include:

- \* a path to citizenship;
- \* an independent commission to assess labor market shortages;
- \* effective work authorization mechanisms to hold employers accountable;
- \* rational operational control of the border; and
- \* improvement, not expansion, of temporary worker programs.

Now is the time for the labor movement to work in coalitions so we can accomplish these goals.

If the Republicans cannot stop comprehensive immigration reform with a path to citizenship, they will continue to push voter suppression laws targeted at minorities, a group that traditionally votes overwhelmingly for Democrats. While little came of the efforts in the 2010 Election, there were renewed threats in 2012 by groups like "True The Vote." This deceptively named extreme right-wing group recruited and trained one million volunteers nationally to monitor the polls during the 2012 Elections with emphasis on suppression-minded tactics such as:

**Voter Challenges**: Currently, 46 states permit political party representatives, or registered voters, to challenge a voter's right to cast a ballot either on or prior to Election Day. This typically leads to an inquiry, which may result in the challenged voters losing their ability to cast ballots that will be counted.

**Caging**: This is a practice of sending mail marked "do not forward" to addresses found on voter rolls, compiling a list of mail that is returned to the sender as undeliverable, and then using that list to purge voter rolls or challenge the voters' eligibility. Voter caging is a notoriously unreliable method of determining a voter's eligibility. There are numerous reasons why a voter's mail may be returned unopened even though the voter provided accurate information to elections officials.

**Intimidation**: This includes a wide range of conduct that has the effect of stopping voter participation. Today, voter intimidation usually takes more subtle forms, but it continues to primarily suppress the vote of racial and ethnic minorities.

**Misinformation**: These are collectively deceptive practices in which political groups or lone individuals acting anonymously engage in the dissemination of misleading information regarding the time, place, or manner of an election; identification requirements; voter eligibility; or the presence of activities of law enforcement near a polling site. They are usually aimed at suppressing the vote of racial and linguistic minorities, as well as the elderly and disabled.

The CWA Civil Rights and Equity Committee asks our sisters and brothers to support a comprehensive immigration reform plan that has a path to citizenship for the estimated eleven million undocumented workers in the U.S. We further ask that you help stop voter suppression by pressuring state legislatures to reduce voting restrictions and increase early voting and same day voter registration.

### COMMITTEE MEMBER FRANK ARCE:

# EDUCATING THE YOUTH

Proverbs 22:6 says: "Train up a child in the way he should go; even when he is old he will not depart from it."

If we are going to be successful in building a movement for economic justice and democracy, we must do a better job of assisting in the coordination of existing community programs and services that

help minority youth. Recent U.S. Census Bureau projections indicate that by the middle of this century, Whites will cease to be a majority of the American population. For America's youngest residents, that future is already here.

In 2010, 48.6 percent of the babies born in the United States were members of minority groups. One thing is certain, corporate America is well aware of this phenomenon. Funding from corporations to institutions of higher education is up; corporate boards and college leadership overlap.

One example is South Dakota State University, where the president of the university, Bruce Rastetter, is also co-founder and president of Agrisol Energy. He is also a member of the Iowa Board of Regents. Under his leadership, Iowa State and Agrisol partnered in a joint venture in Tanzania, which would have forcefully removed 162,000 people from their land!

The impact of corporate cash on our academic institutions will be disastrous in the United States and to the labor movement as well. President George Rupp of Columbia University has observed that as a result of corporate collusion with universities:

Research may become somewhat too domesticated, aimed at short-term objectives dictated by corporate sponsors, or even our own faculty, as their entrepreneurial instincts lead them to try to identify and patent discoveries that will have a payoff. That is a risk that the university as a whole faces. It can involve not only the sciences and engineering, but the humanities and social sciences as well.

For example, consider the impact of some of the new media capabilities. There are current commercial attempts to harness the ideas, even the lectures and presentations, of faculty members. The danger exists that universities will be so assimilated into society that we will no longer be the kind of collectors of talent that allow creativity to blossom.

If these corporate bosses are allowed to dictate to the academia of this country, we will truly have lost not just the battle, but the war as well.

Another example is the work of David and Charles Koch, billionaire owners of a petrochemical empire. Their foundations donate to more than 150 universities and, in many of these donation contracts, the Kochs retain the ability to dictate curriculum and appoint faculty of their choosing. For example, at Florida State University, the Charles G. Koch Foundation gave \$1.5 million to the economics department. The agreement allowed him to appoint the committee that selected candidates to be considered for faculty positions. Additionally, he retained the right to withdraw funding if the foundation did not approve of the direction taken by the new hires.

Contracts like these stifle academic freedom and promote ideology over academic rigor and evidence. This is at the expense of students who, instead of learning to be critical thinkers, are indoctrinated into an ideology that often lacks a foundation in reality.

This is nothing less than a hijacking of education. And, who will suffer the most? It will be the minority youth of this country who still have substandard education at all levels, not the children of these fat cats who are destined to inherit the wealth of their forefathers.

We must fight back! And we will. President Larry Cohen often states that the key to our future is building a movement. One of the most important components is building coalitions with the youth of our country, the future voters and leaders.

We must reach out to all levels from kindergarten through the twelfth grade to community centers, community colleges, and major universities. We can do this by volunteering at our local schools and community centers, especially in minority and at-risk neighborhoods. If Locals would volunteer just one day a month, we can influence youth for a lifetime.

Community colleges, where many minority students turn to due to financial constraints, are treasure troves where young people hungrily devour knowledge. They all have clubs and organizations that are eager to hear what we have to offer. We need to let them know about the opportunities that we have via scholarships. Two hundred dollars for a fat cat may not be much, but for a family in need it can make all the difference in the world.

Jesus prophesized in the parable by the lake, Matthew 13:3: "A sower went out to sow and as he sowed, some seeds fell along the path, and the birds came and devoured them. Other seeds fell on rocky ground, where they did not have much soil, and immediately they sprang up since they had no depth of soil. But when the sun rose they were scorched. And since they had no root, they withered away. Other seeds fell among thorns, and the thorns grew up and choked them. Other seeds fell on good soil and produced grain, some a hundredfold, some sixty, some thirty. He who has ears, let him hear."

And just as the sower required good soil for his seeds to produce grain, we must lay the foundation for our youth to thrive. We cannot wait while others lay out an ideology that benefits the few at the expense of all others. We cannot allow our children to be manipulated by the wealth of the top while their own interests are undermined and impeded. We must lay the groundwork for the future, punto!

**CHAIR MIDDLETON:** The Committee on Civil Rights and Equity moves for the acceptance of this report.

**TEMPORARY CHAIR SUNKETT:** The National Committee on Civil Rights and Equity moves for acceptance of the report. Is there a motion to second?

... The motion was duly seconded from the floor ...

**TEMPORARY CHAIR SUNKETT:** The motion was duly seconded. At the "For" microphone, Dan Rodriguez, 9423, the Chair recognizes you. Microphone 3, sorry.

**DELEGATE DAN RODRIGUEZ (Local 9423):** I stand here in front of you in support of the Civil Rights report. It's a great report. I want to thank the Committee for all their hard work. I want to thank the Committee for taking on hard subjects like gun control.

And I've got to tell you this, brothers and sisters, all of you, all of you probably have somebody in your family or somebody you know that's been hurt or harmed by guns, or there's somebody in your local or somebody in your district who have been or their family members have been hurt by guns. I've got to tell you this, brothers and sisters: Part of the big debate on that is that it makes it hard for law-abiding citizens to get the guns. But we have to look in the mirror, brothers and sisters, and I got to tell you this: Everybody is a law abiding citizen-- until they are not.

Also, I want to thank the Committee for talking about the equity and the inequity of the gay community. I've got to tell you this, brothers and sisters, all of you. In my family-- I am pretty sure everybody in the CWA family-- has somebody who's gay or they are all gay, and there is nothing wrong with that.

I've got to tell you this. I have been to a gay wedding. I didn't know there was such controversy over a gay wedding. I have been to a lesbian wedding. It was a beautiful wedding. It was in a chapel. It was beautiful. The pastor was female. The bride was female. The bridesmaids were female. The groom was female. The groomsmen were female. It was just beautiful. But that was about ten years ago. And I'm going to tell you, they are like any normal couple, because now they are divorced. (Laughter)

So I just wanted to tell you, I want to tell the Civil Rights Committee, thank you for all the hard work. Thank you for bringing up all those subjects that are controversial because all of us are touched by those controversies. Civil rights are human rights. I am in favor of the report. Thank you. (Applause)

**TEMPORARY CHAIR SUNKETT:** The Chair recognizes Richard Henderson, Local 2010.

**DELEGATE RICHARD HENDERSON (Local 2010):** Thank you. Like my brother, I also want to thank the Civil Rights and Equity Committee. When we debate things, it makes people open up their minds. Sometimes they speak with their heart, sometimes they speak with their mind, sometimes they are able to speak with both. I want to commend them on taking on such a hard issue. I do not believe, though, that this would be the right forum for that.

Now, as I read over this, there are a lot of things I would like to point out. First off, as the brother over here said, everybody knows somebody who has been hurt with a firearm. I don't doubt that a bit. I can tell you without any doubt whatsoever, everyone in this room, everyone in this city, everyone in the state of Pennsylvania, and the country that we call home are protected by our Veterans such as myself who carry guns. (Applause)

We are protected by our law-abiding people, our police officers that carry guns. Why should we be less armed than anybody else? There are a lot of things I would like to say. In New York City, as it says there, it's already illegal to carry guns. That law has already been broken. Passing laws and resolutions does not seem to help us much.

Prejudice, stand your ground, it is controversial and prejudicial. Without stand your ground laws, somebody breaks into your home. Think about this for a minute. Somebody breaks the door down in your house. Without stand your ground laws, you are required to exit your house. Stand your ground states that, if you come into my house, then I do not have to give the rights to the criminals, but I am allowed to defend my family. (Applause)

West Virginia, which I represent part of, is one of those states that has stand your ground law or the Castle Doctrine, as it's so referred to in other states. It's often said here, as you said, that guns don't kill people; people do. You know, it is a true statement. I agree wholeheartedly, and the problem is two-sided.

But let's just for the sake of argument remove the word "guns" out of the first few sentences of that paragraph. Let's replace it with cars. People should not have cars. See, this is a true statement but it does not set aside the problem that's two-fold. People should not have cars and the availability of cars, if you replace the words. On average how many people die each day from cars? How many are wounded by cars? A car is an inanimate object. So is a rifle, a pistol, a shotgun. They are inanimate. They cannot do anything by themselves. It requires an individual to pick it up. A tool can be used for good. It can be used for bad things-- and criminal activity, no doubt.

### **TEMPORARY CHAIR SUNKETT:** One minute.

**DELEGATE HENDERSON:** Calling anything assault weapons, weapons of war, I want everybody to think back to the first thing. Weapons of war. If you look back, whether you are Christian, Catholic, whatever, if you look back they fought with swords. Swords were weapons of war. The Chinese invented gunpowder. We went to black powder rifles and cannons. Those were weapons of war. What a person can do with a simple hunting shotgun, which nobody calls an assault weapon because it does not look like the military weapons we carry, but what one person can do with a single shot 12-gauge shotgun and buckshot pales in comparison to what has been done with an AR-15.

... The microphone was cut off ...

**TEMPORARY CHAIR SUNKETT:** At Microphone 3, the Chair recognizes Walter Andrews, 3204.

**DELEGATE WALTER D. ANDREWS (Local 3204):** President Cohen, delegates, retirees, and guests, brothers and sisters: I also rise and applaud and thank the National Civil Rights & Committee on Equity for the work they have done on this report. They have singled out some very, very controversial issues. As all of us know, not only is our union under attack from Corporate America, these issues come about and it serves to divide us.

I don't think this Committee was recommending that we take anybody's rights away that's given to us under the Constitution to own a gun or anything else. The issues they addressed were guns, but also income inequity, "from the darkness of inequality comes the light"; money in politics-- welcome to AT&T, your world destroyed; Trans-Pacific Partnership-- and we know what that is; immigration; and educating our youth. Those were very, very hard topics.

All they are doing is asking us to take a look at this report, take it to heart, take it back home, and as we build a movement keep these issues in your mind and in the forefront.

The speaker before me said that everybody knows somebody that's been hurt by a gun. I know somebody personally. My mom was robbed and shot in the head with a gun but she lived, okay? It took away her short-term memory. She can tell you what I did as a child, but she can't remember she's cooking. But I don't run around advocating taking guns away from people, because it's your right. I say that we <u>must</u> come up with a way to control the illegal guns and the things that people are using them for that are not legal. That's all we are saying. We are not taking away anybody's rights. I am a veteran, too. (Applause) I went to Vietnam and everything else.

I am saying to you, thank you, Committee, we appreciate what you did, and I hope these delegates take it to heart, and that we take it back home and we put it to use as we build this movement of our great union. God bless you, and thank you. (Applause)

**TEMPORARY CHAIR SUNKETT:** At Microphone 5, the Chair recognizes Bradley Harmon, 6355.

**DELEGATE BRADLEY HARMON (Local 6355):** Thank you, Brooks. I am moved by the Committee's report and drawn in because of the compelling story about our sister who worked for AT&T and was not able to get equitable health care coverage because she happened to be someone who is transgender. I move to ask a two-part question.

Part one, do the insurance programs that our union runs for staff and then the insurance programs, the fund that our union runs-- I believe it's through the Furniture Workers-- do those funds engage in discriminatory practices against individuals on the basis of their gender identity which would contradict CWA's policy on mutual respect?

**TEMPORARY CHAIR SUNKETT:** For the answer to that question, I'm going to call on Secretary-Treasurer Annie Hill.

**SECRETARY-TREASURER HILL:** Hi, Delegate Harmon. Thank you for raising that question. I don't have an answer here for you today. I'm not sure what our current plan design covers on that, but we will certainly go back and look at that and research it and get back to the Committee on Equity and yourself with an answer for both the questions that you asked.

**DELEGATE HARMON:** Thanks.

TEMPORARY CHAIR SUNKETT: Are there any other delegates wishing to speak on the motion?

Are there any other delegates wishing to the speak on the motion?

From Local 9400, Judy Perez at the For mike.

**DELEGATE JUDY PEREZ (Local 9400):** I rise in support of the Equity Committee's report. When I came here today, I did not expect to come to this mike and speak, so I have not written a speech. But I have a story to tell you. I happen to believe in the Second Amendment. I believe in the right to bear arms. My husband was an avid hunter, as are all my six children.

But I had a grandson and his name was Eric. He would have graduated from college last July. He was a U.S. Veteran going to school on the GI Bill. On March 1st of last year, he got out of his car and someone did not like the kind of music he was listening to, and they blew off the top of his head. Twenty minutes later he was dead.

Now I want you to know, I have twelve other grandchildren and six children. And I want to make sure they are safe, because you have no idea the pain of losing a child for a senseless reason.

The man who killed him had bought the gun at a gun show. It was not licensed. There was not a background check.

I was asked by my daughter's advocate to write a letter to the judge about what type of sentence I think this man should get. He will get no more than eight years. But when I wrote the letter, I said, "Something has got to change. My grandson is dead, and this man will have a life no longer as it should have been."

So we must do something about gun control. It's got to happen. No more children can die. We can't have another Sandy Hook, an Aurora, a Columbine. We've got to do something. Thank you. (Applause)

**TEMPORARY CHAIR SUNKETT:** At Microphone 1, the Chair recognizes Chuck Taylor.

DELEGATE CHUCK TAYLOR (Local 2202): Call to close debate.

**TEMPORARY CHAIR SUNKETT:** You heard him call to close debate. It is non-debatable. It's a vote that takes two-thirds. All in favor of closing the debate?

All opposed by like sign. The debate is now closed.

Before you is the motion to accept the report. All those in favor, raise your right hand. All those opposed by like sign. The motion carries. (Applause)

Please join with me in thanking the Committee for all their hard work and efforts. (Applause)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Now I will ask that the National Women's Committee come to the platform. And as they do, I call on Vice President District 3, Judy Dennis, to introduce the Committee and take the podium. Vice President Dennis.

... Vice President Judy Dennis assumed the Chair ...

VICE PRESIDENT JUDY DENNIS: I would like to introduce the National Women's Committee:

Virginia Anderson-Dunbar, Local 6300, Chair Karen Cusson, Recording Secretary, CWA Local 1400 Christy Hayhurst, Treasurer, CWA Local 2003 Esther Pond, Vice President, AT&T Wireless, CWA Local 3806 Grace Catania, Unit Chair, CWA 34071 Lisa Hicks, President, CWA local 7500 Pandy Allen, Secretary-Treasurer, CWA Local 9003

I would like to recognize the Committee for purposes of the report of the National Women's Committee.

**COMMITTEE CHAIR ANDERSON-DUNBAR:** We will share with you highlights from our report. Please refer to the full report of the National Women's Committee.

. . . The various members of the Committee read portions of the report which is included in its entirety as follows: . . .

To say that "a woman's work is never done" is more true today than ever. Decades of issues continue to resurface and we have to confront them on a daily basis. Many of them have never been fully resolved, or worse, have resurfaced.

Key issues, which you will hear more about, include violence against women, discrimination against women, voter registration, the 20th Anniversary of the Family Medical Leave Act (FMLA), human trafficking, and, most importantly, going forward with our movement building.

Violence against women laws have come a long way, but not far enough. They must continue to be supported via the Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act-- and we must thank those that supported strong language in this bill.

Passing a simple treaty, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, or CEDAW, that condemns discrimination against women should be a no-brainer.

The United States needs to achieve a universal voter registration system. Election 2012 taught us some valuable lessons in what needs to be done to preserve and improve the basic democratic right to vote.

Human trafficking in the United States has increased dramatically and sadly most of it goes unreported. It is not just a third world problem. This cannot continue.

It is the 20th Anniversary of the FMLA, but still more needs to be done. Join in both the celebration and the legislative battles to fill the gaps.

When it comes to movement building, the progressive course of organized labor is to improve the lives of working men and women. To continue forward momentum, and not lose hard fought gains, it is imperative we forge alliances with natural allies and partners.

The issues we face include:

## VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN ACT (VAWA)

Senator (now Vice President) Joe Biden led Congress to enact VAWA in 1994. This landmark federal legislation holds domestic violence, dating violence, sexual assault, and stalking offenders accountable and provides services for victims-- *male and female*.

VAWA was reauthorized in 2000 and again in 2005, with bipartisan support. VAWA expired in September 2011, but continued to be funded through the appropriation process in its 2005 version. Reauthorization will provide a five-year authorization for VAWA programs, and *reduce* the cost by more than \$135 million by streamlining some of its programs.

VAWA improved the criminal justice response in many ways:

\* Strengthened federal penalties for repeat sex offenders;

\* Created the Rape Shield law, preventing the use of the victim's past sexual conduct at a rape trial;

\* Mandated that victims do not have to bear the expense for rape exams or for a service of protection order;

\* Required enforcement of protection orders in all state, tribal, and territorial jurisdictions in the United States;

\* Increased rates of prosecution, conviction, and sentencing of offenders due to dedicated law enforcement and prosecution units, as well as dedicated domestic violence court dockets;

\* Funded training for over 500,000 law enforcement officers, prosecutors, judges, and others annually, ensuring that police officers who respond to crisis calls and judges who rule on them understand the realities of domestic and sexual violence; and

\* Created a federal habitual offender crime to provide additional protection for women on Indian reservations.

VAWA established a National Domestic Violence Hotline that has answered three million calls at the rate of 22,000 calls per month! It also affords legal relief and protection for underserved communitiesi.e., battered immigrants, American Indian, and Alaskan Native tribal women and men. The National Task Force to End Sexual and Domestic Violence Against Women finds that 200,000 victims of violence would have lost services if VAWA had not been reauthorized.

Since the original passage of VAWA, gender-based violence was reduced by 64 percent between 1993 and 2010-- from 2.1 million reported cases in 1993 down to 907,000 cases reported in 2010-- even though victims are now more likely to report domestic and sexual violence to police.

\* Intimate partner violence declined 67 percent.

\* Intimate partner homicides of females decreased 35 percent.

\* Intimate partner homicides of males decreased 46 percent.

In addition, the passage of VAWA has led to more arrests of domestic and sexual offenders.

VAWA has also influenced legislation at the state level:

\* All states now have laws that treat date or spousal rape as seriously as stranger rape.

\* All states have made stalking a crime.

\* All states have authorized warrantless arrests in misdemeanor domestic violence cases, if the arresting officer finds probable cause.

\* All states have criminal sanctions for violation of civil protective orders.

\* Many states prohibit polygraphing rape victims.

\* Thirty-five states, the District of Columbia, and the U.S. Virgin Islands have laws that require time off from work, protection from employment discrimination, and unemployment insurance for victims of domestic or sexual violence.

Senators Patrick Leahy (D-VT) and Michael Crapo (R-ID) reintroduced the VAWA Reauthorization Act (SA 7) in 2013. It was similar to the bill (S.1925) passed by the Senate last year with 68 votes-including fifteen Republican Senators and *all* of the female Senators-- but died in the House in 2012. Senator Leahy explained that the provision for an increase in U visas was not included in this year's bill, "in order to remove any excuse for House inaction." U visas are made available to immigrant victims who help law enforcement. Senator Leahy stated, "I remain committed to ensuring that the needed U visa increase is adopted. I intend to work to include it in comprehensive immigration reform legislation."

Representatives Gwen Moore (D-WI) and John Conyers (D-MI) introduced H.R.11, identical to S.47, in the House of Representatives.

VAWA reauthorization will strengthen and improve existing programs to protect all victims, including students, racial minorities, tribal members, immigrants, and the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ) community by:

\* The Campus SaVE Act that requires colleges and universities to report the number of dating violence, sexual assault, and stalking incidents. This initiative would also strengthen prevention programs, victim services, disciplinary action, and law enforcement on campuses;

\* The reauthorization of Grants to Reduce Violent Crimes Against Women on Campus program;

\* Specific language to protect the LGBTQ community, as well as youth. Also, programs receiving VAWA funding cannot discriminate against anyone, including discrimination based on sexual orientation or gender identity;

\* The Creating Hope through Outreach, Options, Services, and Education for Youth (CHOOSE Youth) program that combines services to create coordinated community responses to dating violence and sexual violence against youth;

\* The Saving Money And Reducing Tragedies Through Prevention (SMART) program that combines grants to assist youth exposed to violence by engaging men and youth in prevention efforts;

\* The Improved Grants for Outreach and Services to Underserved Populations that supports services tailored to the young-- LGBTQ youth, youth of color, youth with disabilities, and immigrant youth;

\* The reauthorization of the Sexual Assault Services Program to respond to sexual coercion and violence experienced by young people; and by

\* The reauthorization of the Legal Assistance for Victims program.

Republicans in the House of Representatives resisted expansion of coverage to include gays, illegal immigrants, and Native Americans, suggesting that some victims are more worthy of protection than others. Shortly before the vote was taken in the House, the right wing attempted a substitute bill that weakened the provisions in S.47/H.R.11, primarily by eliminating provisions that protected Native American and the LGBTQ communities.

It must be noted that existing law denies Native American women equal access to justice.

But, it must also be noted that *all* of us need VAWA.

\* One out of three Native American women will be raped in her lifetime.

\* Two out of five American Indian and Alaskan Native women are victims of domestic violence.

\* The murder rate for American Indian and Alaskan Native women is ten times the national average.

\* One out of four women in the United States *has been* the victim of severe physical domestic violence, and one out of five *has been* raped in her lifetime, according to the Center for Disease Control and Prevention.

\* Carmen Tarleton, of Thetford, Vermont, is nearly blind, disfigured, and in constant pain from an attack five years ago when her estranged husband broke into her home, beat her with a baseball bat, and poured industrial-strength lye on her.

\* A man was released from jail on domestic violence charges in Colorado last month, and then killed his ex-girlfriend, her sister, her sister's husband, and himself.

\* Forty-five percent of those seeking refuge at a shelter were turned away.

\* Fifty-five percent of those seeking restraining orders against abusers were denied.

\* Undocumented women risk being held hostage by abusive spouses who threaten deportation and separation from their children if their wives report abuse.

\* Eighty percent of migrant agricultural workers report sexual harassment, including rape, so endemic that workers often call their workplace "fil de calzon" (field of panties).

Americans were horrified when a young Indian woman died from internal injuries after being gangraped and when a Pakistani girl was shot by the Taliban for wanting an education. Yet similar crimes occur every day in the United States. Ilyse Hogue, co-director of Friends of Democracy, advises us to "face the unchecked bigotry in our own Congress."

Congressman Steve Cohen of Tennessee issued the following statement: "The Violence Against Women Act represents a firm promise: No woman should ever be forced to feel unsafe or insecure in her own home and no woman should ever suffer in silence in the face of domestic violence."

Shortly before we went to press, we learned that the weakened right-wing version of VAWA was defeated. Instead, the Violence Against Women Act has been passed and reauthorized in its strongest version. (Applause)

By the time this report is read, it will have been signed by President Obama. This democratic achievement, in the face of the existing "blocks to democracy," exemplifies the true spirit of President Cohen's call for movement building. The CWA, and close to one hundred other constituency groups, partnered with the National Task Force to End Sexual and Domestic Violence Against Women and The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights to *finally* get justice for victims of violence. Please thank your elected representatives who voted for this important legislation. Seldom are our heroes thanked, but let us not forget to do so this time.

But, remind them that there is more unfinished business-- the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). The CWA National Women's Committee reported on this treaty before. It is a landmark international agreement, or treaty, that affirms principles of fundamental human rights and equality for women around the world. It recognizes that women's rights are human rights. It also seeks to end sex trafficking against women, a horrifying global problem that you

will learn about further into our report.

Countries that have ratified CEDAW have partnered with their governments to improve the status of women and girls. Sadly, the United States has not yet approved this international treaty; along with Iran, Palau, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, and Tonga.

We can do so much better. Tell your congressional representatives that this, too, needs attention, and we will partner with our national allies to ensure that CEDAW is ratified in the United States. (Applause)

#### MOVEMENT BUILDING

Organized labor historically supports progressive policies. Progressive policies improve the lives of working women and men. The Progressive Movement began in cities in the late 19th century due to tenement housing and unsafe workplaces. Progressives spoke out about the need for laws regulating dangerous tenements, child labor, and harsh working conditions for women. Progressives believe that the voices of many speak louder than the voices of the few.

The CWA National Women's Committee has been inspired by President Cohen to improve our ability to link the voices of many to promote issues that matter to us. There are three categories of organizations that will provide a source of support for labor initiatives.

First, there are labor organizations themselves. These AFL-CIO constituency groups are focused on core labor goals. For example, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU), the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), Pride@Work, the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement (LCLAA), the A. Philip Randolph Institute (APRI), the Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance (APALA), and the Alliance for Retired Americans (ARA) each have logistics in place to reach out and ask their constituencies to support a cause.

Second, there are congressional caucuses designed to allow members of Congress to pool resources and contact lists in support of common goals. These include the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), the Congressional Hispanic Caucus (CHC), the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues (CCWI), the Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus (CAPAC), and the Lesbian, Gay, Bi-Sexual and Transgender (LGBT) Equality Caucus.

Third, non-labor strategic partners, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the National Organization for Women (NOW), the National Domestic Workers Alliance (NDWA), the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF), and the National Council of La Raza (La Raza), have experience in movement building and raising awareness. These partners represent modern progressive activism.

Experience shows that banding together with other organizations can bring tens of millions of activists to our causes. This is the spirit of the Progressive Movement. Movement building is creating leaders and followers. With partners, CWA can chart a path to a movement of fifty million Americans.

Progressive thinking is pragmatic and flexible. Progressives understand that government can be used as a force for good. But, Progressives do not simply ask, "How can government help this situation?" Rather, we ask, "With the tools we have, both public and private, how can we solve this problem?" Progressives use the tools available to make change. African Americans won the civil rights movement using strikes, marches, and political pressure to get Congress to pass civil rights laws, but they were not alone. Labor and other progressive organizations created the movement for change. Movement building is key to all progressive causes.

The CWA National Women's Committee observes that women's rights, labor rights, and human rights are all interconnected and that the best way to move forward is to harness the power of solidarity. Such rights should be obvious, but world leaders felt it necessary to underscore them in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: the protection of women from exploitation, just and fair conditions of employment, protection against forced labor, and the right to form and join trade unions. These are essential and fundamental human rights. But, despite these well-respected sentiments, we constantly need to remind our government of these fundamental human rights.

So, where can our partnerships with non-labor organizations bring us? How do they fit in with our objectives? The list of non-labor organizations with recent experience building movements is long and growing. Many have demonstrated that they are effective communicators. By focusing on working with these non-labor organizations, progressive movements can be built.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) is a civil rights organization with a mission "to ensure the political, educational, social, and economic equality of rights of all persons and to eliminate racial hatred and racial discrimination." The CWA National Women's Committee, other committees, and LPATs should continue to work with the NAACP on issues that threaten equal rights, such as fighting voter suppression.

The National Organization for Women (NOW) has long taken action to bring about equality for all women. Since 1966, they have led the battle for equality, ending violence against women, eradicating racism, sexism, and homophobia. Local Women's Committees should reach out to local and national NOW Chapters to increase pressure on Congress to pass laws that protect women's rights. The NOW national website calls passing the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) a critical objective.

CWA helped raise the volume of pressure on Congress and obtained recent passage of this important law by working with organizations like NOW. NOW also fights for economic justice, equity in pay, better job opportunities, political access, Social Security, and education. These are all traditionally union objectives as well. We can build a movement around any or all of these issues.

The National Domestic Workers Alliance (NDWA) is the nation's leading voice for the millions of domestic workers in the United States, most of whom are women. Often members of this organization mistrust labor. Reaching millions of such workers through movement building should be our way of overcoming such mistrust.

CWA should work with the NDWA in an effort to raise labor standards for all working people. The AFL-CIO formed a national partnership with the National Domestic Workers Alliance in 2011. This relationship permits advocacy and organizing at both the local and state level. Domestic workers are joining together with the union movement to help build power for working families, and CWA is at the forefront of this partnering.

The National Council of La Raza (La Raza) declares that its mission is to improve opportunities and open doors for Hispanic Americans. La Raza believes that advocacy, civic engagement, and community-based support are essential parts of any community- empowerment strategy. Thus, the organization concentrates on advocacy activities at state and local levels through advocacy initiatives.

The CWA should approach and work with La Raza to pass the DREAM Act. La Raza has stated that the "Latino community will not forget the members of Congress who voted against the DREAM Act, depriving our country of the contributions of so many talented youth." Through movement building, we can help remind Congress that a path to citizenship will help keep talented workers here in the United States instead of sending them to India and China.

The National Gay and Lesbian Task Force's (NGLTF) mission is to build the grassroots power of the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) community. They do this by training activists and

equipping state and local organizations with the skills necessary to build broad-based campaigns. Our work with VAWA legislation included retaining a key provision that protected domestic violence victims in the LGBT communities-- a major win against the right wing.

The key to finding partner organizations is to find leaders who have goals we share, and then build bridges with their groups. Not all partner groups will have a core mission that appeals to all. Partner group agendas might, on the surface, appear to have nothing in common with traditional labor goals. Those groups do, however, have a membership core. Their motivated members can help us raise awareness and apply political pressure on common issues.

Many examples of successful movement building exist within CWA. You do not really have to have a particular issue in mind when you start. You can explore possibilities with a non-labor organization. The Texas Sierra Club and CWA Local 6215 started with a single meeting between a pair of activists to explore and find common ground. This start prompted the groups to organize a two-day training meeting. The meeting drew in more than 100 participants.

With an army of activists, rallies were organized to oppose the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) meeting in June of 2012. The NAFTA-like TPP threatens to off-shore more jobs and to erode environmental protections. The rally-building experience mushroomed into cooperative work during the 2012 Elections to elect pro-worker and pro-environment candidates.

CWA Local 1103 and a nearby community organization joined forces based on a shared concern for economic justice. In the process of organizing they decided to stress three things when meeting with other organizational leaders:

\* Unions and community groups have different things to offer and can complement one another;

\* All must respect each organization's changing needs; and

\* Any organization can opt out of planned events.

Since forming, this coalition has written letters to the editor, visited Congress, organized Town Hall meetings, pushed for the millionaires' tax, and rallied together.

Following the 2010 Election, CWA believed that Ohio was preparing anti-worker legislation.

There are many examples of successful movement-building within CWA. Here's one example: In 2010, District 4 Vice President Seth Rosen reached out to community organizations. Their first meetings involved sharing personal stories and this led to a vision for social and economic justice.

Activist training with community and national groups, such as Jobs with Justice, the Ohio Organizing Cooperative, Working America, and others, grew out of the time spent building relationships. Activists created "Stand Up for Ohio," a coalition that worked to repeal the anti-collective bargaining bill known as Senate Bill 5.

Sisters and Brothers, movement-building is about restoring democracy. We must restore democracy if we are to have a fighting chance for all of the things we hold dear. Movement building is a huge concept, but it starts very small. It starts with you, your Local, and your local activists. It starts with understanding that workers rights, civil rights, and women's rights are all HUMAN RIGHTS.

Are we serious about human rights and building a progressive movement for change? Does your Local have a Women's Committee or a Civil Rights and Equity Committee? Is it actively working with NOW, the NAACP, the NDWA, La Raza, the NGLTF, or ANY organization outside of CWA? Reach out to them! If you do not have their contact information, Google them or call 411. Tell them you want to meet

with them to talk about their mission and how you can work together on issues of mutual importance. Tell them you'll have their back if they will have yours. This work also pays off during collective bargaining!

The success or failure of any relationship depends upon keeping a positive frame of mind. Abraham Lincoln famously said, "We can complain because rose bushes have thorns or we can rejoice because thorn bushes have roses." So, find a common "rose" that we can build partnerships around.

Pledge with me as the Jobs with Justice members do: "During the next year, I will be there at least five times for someone else's fight, as well as my own. If enough of us are there, we'll start winning."

President Cohen wants us to build a movement to restore democracy and ensure that *all* human rights are protected. As you can see, the first step is to reach out, build relationships of trust, and find common ground. If we all bring it locally, we will soon have a national impact-- the voices of fifty million Americans.

#### UNIVERSAL VOTER REGISTRATION

One of the first laws requiring citizens to register to vote was in Massachusetts in 1801. Many saw the law as designed to keep new citizens, the poor, and other so-called "undesirables" from voting. As the century went on, more states enacted similar legislation, concerned with the growing number of immigrants participating in the electoral process. Not only did this disenfranchise immigrants, many poor citizens were also excluded from the voter rolls.

Toward the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the newly-freed slaves were also disenfranchised by these laws. Although the 15<sup>th</sup> Amendment of the U.S. Constitution guaranteed voting rights for black voters, minorities still faced discrimination at the polls.

More than fifty years later, on August 6, 1965, President Lyndon Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act into law to permanently prohibit such practices. But, even though Congress passed the 1993 National Voter Registration Act and the 2002 Help America Vote Act, there are still between 28 percent and 32 percent of eligible citizens who are unregistered to vote. This needs to change. Currently, our voter registration system is broken:

\* In the United States, anywhere from 50 to 65 million citizens are disenfranchised.

\* This system disproportionately affects the poor, minorities, the young, and the disabled.

\* The United States has one of the worst voter registration rates in the developed world.

The Solution-- Universal Voter Registration:

\* Mandate that all states establish a state-wide database that automatically adds and updates voter information of eligible citizens.

\* Establish federal funding to help states implement these systems.

\* Mandate that a registered voter be given permanent status as long as he or she resides in the same state.

\* Institute mandatory Election Day Registration (EDR) and the ability to update voter information at polling places.

The United States does not have a national registration system, but several states have voting systems based on some of the principles discussed above. Eight states allow Election Day Registration

and the correction of information at the polling place. Two states have limited Election Day Registration, allowing voters to register during the early voting period. Seven states have forms of permanent registration for their citizens. As a result, in the 2008 Election, the turnout rate of eligible voters was higher in these states than the national rate.

As President Cohen emphasized, "Voter fraud is not a problem in the United States, but blocking the democratic rights of citizens to vote is." More than thirty states passed voter suppression legislation in the past two years. These measures were designed solely to lower turnout among minorities, the young, and older Americans who would likely vote for change. These state actions demonstrate that we need national legislation to protect the rights of all Americans.

Currently, there is legislation under consideration in Congress: The Voter Empowerment Act of 2013 (H.R.12). This bill already has a lot of support among members of Congress, but we could always use more. H.R.12 includes the following:

\* Amends the 1993 National Voter Registration Act to require states to make online voter registration available;

\* Authorizes automated and streamlined voter registration, such as same day registration and automatic registration for those eighteen years old;

\* Amends the 2002 Help America Vote Act to promote access for those with disabilities;

- \* Adds hindering, interference, and prevention of voter registration to federal criminal codes;
- \* Provides grants to improve access;
- \* Removes the prohibitions of felons from voting once their time has been served;
- \* Provides for voting system auditing; and
- \* Requires states to allow early voting and the ability to vote by mail.

In order to make common sense solutions to facilitate a true democratic process that is "inclusive not selective," I urge you to get with your elected officials to support this bill.

Most importantly, this bill requires states to have Election Day Registration (EDR). This is the most important provision because EDR is the safety net. Even if all of the other provisions fail, with EDR those that may have fallen through the cracks can still vote. Furthermore, EDR increases voter turnout. In 2008, states with EDR had a turnout rate that was, on average, seven percent higher than states without. In fact, the top five states in voter turnout had EDR.

## The solution to voter registration is:

1. Mandate that all states establish a statewide database that automatically adds and updates voter information for eligible citizens;

2. Establish federal funding to help states implement these systems;

3. Mandate that registered voters be given permanent status as long as he or she resides in the same state;

4. Institute mandatory Election Day registration and the ability to update voter information at the polling site.

CWA must join forces with other organizations, such as the NAACP, La Raza, Sierra Club, APRI, and the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force to influence legislators at both the state and federal level to support Universal Voter Registration. It is critical that we all work together to achieve this vital goal.

#### MODERN DAY SLAVERY

2012 marked the 150<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the date Abraham Lincoln gave notice of the Emancipation Proclamation. That document and the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the U.S. Constitution three years later represented more than just policies written on paper. They represented the promise of freedom. Today, slavery has resurfaced and goes by the name "human trafficking" or "trafficking in persons."

Human trafficking refers to the illegal and immoral buying and selling of human beings as commodities to meet global demands for commercial sexual slavery or forced labor. The trafficking of individuals means the recruitment, transportation, transfer, or harboring of people by means of threat, fraud, deception, or force.

Apart from sexual trafficking and labor trafficking, there are other examples, such as slavery, domestic slavery, and forced labor. It is a crime that exploits women, children, and men for numerous purposes.

It is hard to believe that such a blatant violation of basic human rights is seen in developed countries like the United States. Besides being a violation of human rights, the trafficking of people opens the door for violations of women's rights, child exploitation, and child labor.

Human trafficking is one of the most serious crimes in the world, second only to drug trafficking in terms of its magnitude. There is a reason the business of human trafficking is booming; it is extremely profitable, with sex trafficking generating over \$36 billion in annual profits. And when you calculate slave labor into the mix, the total exceeds \$91 billion. Progression of this crime is fueled by consumer demand.

The International Labor Organization estimates that, globally, over twenty million people are victims of forced labor. This includes victims of human trafficking for labor and sexual exploitation. One and a half million victims are in developed economies. The National Center for Missing and Exploited Children estimates that 100,000 of these people are children within the United States. Trafficking is not only a foreign problem, it is an American problem.

In the United States, over the last few years, the problem of human trafficking in America has increased by massive proportions. As many as 14,000 to 18,000 victims are trafficked every year. Most victims in the United States are from Mexico and Southeast Asia, along with a few other countries in Africa and Europe. Recent trends, however, reveal that a significant proportion of these victims are citizens of America. Men are more often trafficked into agricultural labor work or the crime and drug trade, while women are trafficked into the commercial sex trade and domestic work.

The United Nations has stated that approximately 2.5 million people are trafficked in different parts of the world every year, with as many as 127 countries directly or indirectly involved. CIA calculations have traffickers earning up to \$250,000 per victim of the sex trade per year. Of that, victims are paid trivial amounts or nothing at all on the pretext of clearing up debts and paying expenses such as food, clothing, and lodging.

Victims are paid very meager wages for strenuous physical labor which prevents them from fleeing, often leaving them stuck in foreign countries and living in deplorable conditions. The availability of such cheap labor hinders employment opportunities and subsequently reduces per capita income of the nation.

Financial repercussions cannot be overlooked. In fact, the network of traffickers has gained immense financial strength, which allows such illegal activities to thrive without fear of the law. Forced cheap labor creates unnecessary competition for genuine businesses, but, above all, the loss of valuable human resources is the most regrettable.

Labor traffickers use violence, threats, lies, and other forms of coercion to force people to work against their will in many different industries. Common types of labor trafficking include people forced to work in homes as domestic servants, farm workers coerced through violence as they harvest crops, or factory workers held in inhumane conditions with little or no pay.

Victims of forced labor are brought to the United States because there is a market for their services, along with poor legislation and insufficient laws that allow the problem to persist.

Forced labor operations thrive in several areas: industries that offer low wages, where the U.S. law requires little or no regulation or monitoring of working conditions, and where a huge demand for cheap labor exists. Forced labor in the industries of sex services, domestic servants, farm workers, sweatshops, and factory workers is perpetuated by the potential for profit and a minimal risk of prosecution.

Prostitution has the highest incidence of forced labor with domestic workers ranking second. The demand for cheap household help and a lack of legal protections makes exploitation of domestic workers easy, because U.S. law prevents domestic workers from having a voice. It is also hard to monitor because it takes place in private homes. They are not considered employees under the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA), so their ability to organize for higher wages and better treatment is restricted.

U.S. immigration policy plays an important role indirectly supporting forced labor practices, because the law stipulates that domestic workers brought to the United States by their employers are required to remain with their original employers or face deportation. That fact tends to discourage workers from reporting abuses and puts the power in the hands of their employers.

In the agricultural sector, there is a high occurrence of forced labor. This stems from the absence of labor standards and regulations in the industry. In addition, an increasing number of undocumented immigrant farmworkers are excluded from NLRA, which denies them the ability to organize and form unions. Many farmworkers enter the United States illegally and speak no English; they are unaware of their rights and fear deportation. This creates a situation where many workers live in poverty and feel powerless, making them easy to exploit.

Sweat shop factories, where employers violate labor laws, are another economic sector that utilizes forced labor in the United States. Low cost imports create competitive pressures on U.S.-based manufacturers to cut costs. Forced labor exists in this industry because U.S. labor laws do not offer adequate protections. Corporations and manufacturers are not held legally responsible when an outside firm that is sub-contracted to produce their products uses forced labor. This allows many manufacturers to profit from forced labor without being held accountable for violating labor laws.

The CIA estimates that the United States receives 50,000 people annually who are victims of human trafficking. Most traffickers recruit their victims between the ages of 6 and 24, because young victims easily succumb to force and give up. They are forced into heavy physical labor in hazardous environments. The U.S. Department of State also estimates that two million children globally are trafficked into the sex trade each year.

One of the biggest concerns of trafficking has been the increase in child victims, which has increased from 20 percent in 2003-2006 to 27 percent in 2007-2010.

Another major concern is the low conviction rates against the traffickers. While difficult to document, several governmental and non-profit organizations have published some data on the extent of this growing issue. Only about one percent of traffickers are prosecuted worldwide, despite the fact that slavery is illegal everywhere. There are 42,291 victims identified and reported, with 7,909 trafficking prosecutions, and 3,969 convictions. Unfortunately, most cases of human trafficking go unreported.

Many citizens are completely unaware of the extent of this travesty. The trade in human beings is the world's fastest growing criminal industry. Today, more than thirty million individuals are enslaved, more slaves in the world today than ever before.

The ongoing battle for civil rights includes federal agencies, state and local law enforcement partners, non-profit social service providers, private industry, and non-governmental organizations around the world, which are working to end human trafficking.

Everyone must join together as a nation and global community to provide a safe haven by protecting victims and prosecuting traffickers.

We must confront the problem. Law enforcement budgets are being cut drastically and despite strong mandates, Congress and state legislatures allocate meager resources to anti-trafficking initiatives.

Complicating the problem, Congress has, for the first time since the bill was signed, failed to reauthorize the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA). We need an escalation of fiscal commitments. We need to curb the demand for prostitution and slave-made products. It is a daunting task but not impossible. Targeting "johns" with minor penalties would deter them, as would a short jail sentence, monetary fines, and public exposure.

On the labor front, the fair trade movement has established that conscientious consumers will pay for ethical products. In the wider marketplace, supply-chain transparency is virtually non-existent, but two initiatives are aiming to change that. The State Department recently launched "SlaveryFootprint.org," which exposes the prevalence of slave labor in the production of common goods. It states that slavery is wrapped up in almost every industry's supply chain, tainting the food we eat, the clothes we buy, and the electronics we love.

I would encourage you all to take the survey on that website, which, based on your household items and food that you consume or purchase, will calculate how many slaves have worked for you. I took the survey and was shocked when it calculated 40 slaves have worked for me.

In addition, the "Not for Sale" campaign has unveiled a smart phone app entitled "free2work" that grades popular brands against fair labor standards. These are small steps, but steps in the right direction. Above all, educating the public and increasing awareness will aid in the fight to end human slavery. Ignorance of slavery is what keeps it alive.

The U.S. commitment to fighting modern slavery did not simply materialize twelve years ago with the passing of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) or the adoption the same year of the U.N. Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (Palermo Protocol). This country's tragic history is not forgotten, nor is the bloodshed and lives lost in the fight to end state-sanctioned slavery. Our history gives us reason to be optimistic. It has shown us that we can turn the tide against human trafficking. (Applause)

## HAPPY BIRTHDAY FAMILY MEDICAL LEAVE ACT

It was 20 years ago on February 5th that President Clinton signed the Family Medical Leave Act (FMLA) into law. FMLA was the first law President Clinton signed after his inauguration in 1993 and was enacted six months later on August 5, 1993.

It took nine long years of organized effort and coalition building to pass this modest policy. FMLA supporters had to overcome strong public opinion that women with children should not work outside the home.

The FMLA message had to help people recognize that we needed to support mothers and fathers caring for their newborns at home, as well as link the working-mother issue with the need to care for aging parents. Even most conservatives found it very difficult to argue that job needs should undermine family needs.

FMLA was originally created to bridge the gap between the demands of the workplace and the needs of family. Gone are the days when we could afford to have a "stay at home" caregiver.

The Act allows eligible employees to take up to twelve weeks of unpaid leave during any twelve month period to attend to the serious health condition of the employee, parent, spouse, or child, as well as for pregnancy, care of a newborn, adoption, or foster care. FMLA was expanded in 2008 to increase the time off to include up to 26 weeks for caregivers of a service member.

The current law is a great beginning, but that was what it was intended to be-- a beginning. There is still so much work that needs to be done, such as:

- \* Paid sick time;
- \* Coverage for employers with less than fifty employees;
- \* Expanded illness coverage; and
- \* Reduced work hours needed to qualify.

An employee taking unpaid time off work to care for him or herself, a child, spouse, or parent can be a financial burden on the family. Often, the employee caregiver returns to work earlier than required just to make ends meet.

Employers with less than fifty employees are exempt from participating in FMLA altogether. Employees in this situation would be forced to make a decision between work and family, with the looming fear of losing their jobs should they choose family.

Currently, FMLA excludes employees who have not worked a sufficient number of qualifying hours and only covers a few of the reasons someone would need to be away from work.

New Jersey and California have already taken the next step in enhancing FMLA. California enacted the "paid sick time insurance" policy. Business fears that paid sick time would have a negative impact have been completely unfounded. In fact, studies show that the impact on business is very low. In some instances, there is a cost savings for the employer due to a lower rate of employee turnover. More to the point, nine out of ten employers state that there is no negative financial impact. One quarterly report actually showed a financially advantageous increase.

Two very important pieces of legislation will be introduced this year. The first is The Healthy Families Act. The Healthy Families Act is designed to fill in some of the gaps remaining in FMLA by setting a national standard for paid sick time.

The second, The Family Act, is still under construction. The Family Act is a paid insurance proposal, with the intent to provide up to sixty days of paid leave. The funding for The Family Act would be similar to the funding for the Social Security Trust Fund.

Both bills are designed to complement the Family Medical Leave Act. They will not, however, succeed without your help. Please reach out to your political committees and legislators to work with our national partners on passage of these bills.

It took movement building 20 years ago and it will take movement building today to reach our goals!

In celebration of the 20th Anniversary of the FMLA, CWA National Women's Committee invites you to share your FMLA stories at the Human Rights Booth. We are collecting audio and video stories to be shared with our national partners at this year's Convention. Come and help build the movement by visiting us today. (Applause)

# CONCLUSION AND CALL TO ACTION

The issues we have discussed are not only important to women, they are important to all of us. We have fought for years and will continue to fight for them.

Again, our recommendations are as follows:

\* Urge your elected officials to support H.R.12, the Voter Empowerment Act of 2013. Fight together to achieve a universal voter registration system.

\* Thank your members of Congress if they supported VAWA, and let them know that the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) is up next. Join the movement for women's rights with our constituency groups and natural allies to ensure that the United States ratifies this important international treaty.

\* Give the Domestic Workers a voice and support their important work as they partner with us in ours.

\* Join forces with our allies to educate the public, increase awareness, and stop human trafficking.

\* Support The Healthy Families Act and The Family Act, two new pieces of legislation that will be introduced this year.

\* Join us at the Human Rights Booth, here at the Convention and videotape your story on what FMLA means to you. We will share your stories nationwide in celebration of the 20th Anniversary of the FMLA.

\* Take the pledge: "I will be there at least five times for someone else's fight, as well as my own."

Women's rights are HUMAN RIGHTS. We need to stand up and fight TOGETHER. (Applause)

**COMMITTEE CHAIR ANDERSON-DUNBAR:** The National Women's Committee moves for acceptance of this report.

VICE PRESIDENT DENNIS: There is a motion to accept the report. Is there a second?

... The motion was duly seconded from the floor ...

**VICE PRESIDENT DENNIS:** For purposes of the report from Local 4108 at the For microphone, Angela Miller.

**DELEGATE ANGELA MILLER (Local 4108):** President Cohen, delegates, alternates, and guests: As a former National Women's Committee member, I rise in support of the National Women's Committee's report.

First, I would like to thank you for all of your hard work. These women have spent countless hours selecting topics, writing reports, and presenting them to us today. They have presented them to us not only to inform, but also to encourage us to take action-- action that, if we join together today, we can bring about change.

Along with all their recommendations, I will take the pledge put forward by this committee. I will be there at least five times for someone else's fight as well as my own.

I recommend the acceptance of this report. (Applause)

**VICE PRESIDENT DENNIS:** Thank you. From Local 2336 at the For microphone, Delegate Anthony Ross.

**DELEGATE ANTHONY ROSS (Local 2336):** I also am in support of the National Women's Committee. A woman's place is no longer in the home, but on the forefront, fighting side by side with all of us. Their issues are our issues. A woman's voice is powerful. Women, stand up and be heard. Stand up and be heard. (Applause)

We all need to stand up together as one-- one organized power, one power in order for all of us to stay strong together. Remember, as mentioned before, women's rights are human rights. We need to stand up and fight together. (Applause)

#### VICE PRESIDENT DENNIS: Thank you.

Are there any other delegates wishing to speak?

Seeing no one approaching the mike, I would like to move the motion to accept the report. All those in favor, raise your right hand. Down. Opposed by like sign. It is adopted. (Applause)

Please join with me in thanking the committee for their tireless work and efforts. (Applause and cheers)

... President Cohen resumed the Chair...

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Thank you, Vice President Dennis. Thank you, Women's Committee.

It is now my pleasure to call to the podium Chief of Staff Ron Collins, former Vice President District 2. I work with Ron almost every day. His passion for the next generation, in building the next generation and our union is constant. It's my pleasure to present Chief of Staff Ron Collins for the Next Generation report. (Applause)

**CHIEF OF STAFF RON COLLINS:** Thanks, President Cohen, and we do work together every day including weekends. It is my pleasure to be here with you this afternoon.

Good afternoon, sisters and brothers. I am delighted to be here with you, and specifically to share an update about the work of the CWA Next Generation initiative. Before I proceed I would like to thank President Cohen, Secretary-Treasurer Hill, the Executive Board of CWA, the staff, delegates, alternates, and guests. Thank you very much.

Today I am going to speak briefly about the Next Generation Initiative and describe some of the

recent accomplishments that we have made. I will then hand it over to a CWA brother from CWA Local 1111, Jake Lake, who will describe his experience as a participant in the initiative.

Following Jake, we will show a short video depicting some of our Next Generation work. I will then conclude with some thoughts for the future of the Next Generation.

CWA's Next Generation initiative is an effort to identify, engage, and activate young members, and to cultivate the next generation of CWA leaders for our movement. Today's young workers are part of the largest generation to enter the workforce since the baby boomers. In the next five to ten years, almost half of all current union members-- approximately five to seven million members-- will retire.

Youth unionization rates are two and a half times lower than those of workers ages 40 to 65. This is why organizing young workers and developing young leaders is so important for the future of CWA and the American Labor Movement. This is the core purpose of the Next Generation Initiative.

I want to just share some of our accomplishments over the last two years. One of the most visible successes was the May 2012 Next Generation Convening held in Minneapolis, Minnesota. At that Convening we brought together nearly 60 young members covering each of CWA's districts and provided training on organizing, legislative, and political work. The participants had been identified by their districts, sectors, divisions and locals. Many of the participants were linked to a mentorship program and were also plugged into organizing or political campaigns.

These young leaders assisted with organizing drives at T-Mobile, AT&T, Piedmont Airlines, and others. They also played key organizing roles during the 2012 election cycle. This training and experience has yielded a very engaged and enthusiastic group of young leaders who will continue to benefit our labor movement.

Apart from the May 2012 gathering, there has been a lot of work behind the scenes. We have done outreach to the districts, sectors, and divisions to identify young workers. We have also updated the curriculum for the Local Officers' Training Manual. This includes putting forward a mentor program geared toward mentoring young leaders that will be conducted during the officers training.

It is now my pleasure to introduce my brother and my friend, your brother, one of the brightest young leaders that we have at CWA, Jake Lake. Jake is a Verizon technician and represents CWA on the AFL-CIO Young Workers Advisory Council. Jake is going to share some of his experiences with the Next Generation Initiative. Let's give it up for Jake Lake. (Applause)

**BROTHER JAKE LAKE (Local 1111):** Thank you for that kind introduction.

Sisters and brothers, there are two traits that we can develop in our members to help us continue to shape history: Courage and confidence. My name is Jake Lake, a proud member of Local 1111 in District 1. I have been an activist in our labor movement since 2000. I was initially hesitant to get involved because I was uneducated, but I became fiercely determined after returning from a layoff in 2003 when CWA won an arbitration case for thousands of our members.

That moment burnt the union spirit deep in my soul that continues to course through my being to this day. It was the courage of our union leadership that inspired that moment of confidence in me. I engaged in every activity I could, filled with passion and enthusiasm, trying to change the lives of the working class, joining the fight for social and economic justice.

Last May, I attended CWA's first ever Next Generation training in Minnesota with over 60 CWA sisters and brothers. I was amazed at the talent, dedication, and thirst for knowledge the moment I entered the room. I felt instantly energized by the vibe, and that feeling remained throughout the training.

The focal points were politics and organizing-- two crucial pieces of the CWA Triangle. I watched as my sisters' and brothers' eyes were opened to the labor movement that I love.

On the second day we organized the mobilization event. The target was a well-established bank where we staged a die-in. We laid across the floor of the bank's lobby area in protest. What we understand to be nonviolent direct action was strategically planned and executed. The feeling was electric, instilling a moment of courage and of confidence. We felt both of these emotions because we knew the plan, we knew the actions, and we were in complete control of the event which ended up being covered in the local paper.

Lifelong friendships were born from this first CWA Next Generation training. The top-notch facilitators within our union family provided an excellent education forum which presented future opportunities for our group to engage in political and organizing activities across our country.

My goal after returning home was to reelect a Congressman and help elect a new State Senator. I worked with amazing people from both campaigns and have proved that through education, exposure, and experience, any member can have the confidence they need to succeed.

CWA played a critical role in winning both. I learned a great deal from leaders who tapped into my commitment and passion, and I am thankful to them for sharing their knowledge and experience. The networking I did with other young workers and seasoned leaders allowed me to plant CWA seeds everywhere I went.

I currently serve as CWA's representative on the AFL-CIO Young Workers' Advisory Council. I was recently elected the co-chair. The Council is a diverse group of young leaders who are committed to our movement. We have helped develop 34 Young Worker programs across the country. These groups are innovative, energetic, and engaged in our labor movement. We are also responsible for keeping a young worker thread throughout the AFL-CIO's ongoing campaigns.

The training and experience CWA provided me has greatly helped me in my leadership role in the Council, creating a solid base of union morals to keep us moving in the right direction.

I remember watching an 1103 Jerry Horgan memorial video. In that he said, "I got it here, and you can teach me the rest up here." That explained exactly how I felt, and realized the two characteristics I opened with. First, confidence. Everyone learns their own way. But once you teach a person to understand the issues and how it affects their life, you will see the spark that creates an activist. Education through mentorship instills confidence.

Second, courage. We know that union members have an extra dose of courage, and through inspiration and direct involvement, it's developed. Courage leads to action, and with it our members can accomplish amazing things.

There are many other young workers in our union who look to be involved, but they simply haven't been asked. We need to educate, inspire, and motivate, to build confidence, and they need our direction on how to use their union courage to become activists. Sisters and brothers, the future of our labor movement depends on it.

At our Convention in 2009, a President from a Los Angeles United Airlines AFA-CWA local and a Vice President from a San Diego AT&T local, both out of District 9, started the Next Generation movement within CWA. Their resolution was passed during that Convention, and we need to continue carrying that torch to grow our movement.

Sisters and brothers, mentor our young workers. Carry that torch. Lead the way. With courage and with confidence, together we can change the landscape for all workers.

I look forward to your visit at the Next Generation booth and to you joining the Next Generation network.

Sisters and brothers, President Cohen, Secretary-Treasurer Hill, and our Executive Board: Thank you for supporting the Next Generation movement. Solidarity Forever! (Applause and cheers)

CHIEF OF STAFF COLLINS: Thank you, Jake.

We are now going to play a brief video. It will depict some of the work of our Next Generation members. Included in this video is footage from the Next Generation rally that Jake spoke of at a Wells Fargo bank in Minneapolis. In the video you will also hear from some Next Geners like Jake who described what this initiative has meant to them.

Can we play the video, please.

... A video was played about issues affecting CWA's next generation of workers and the role that the Next-Gen Committee can play in motivating and representing them ... (Applause)

**CHIEF OF STAFF COLLINS:** Thank you. Isn't that a great video? What an inspiring group of leaders. I encourage you to share the video with others. It is on the CWA website.

Speaking of the Next Generation, there is a CWA Next Generation Facebook page. For those of you on Facebook, please pull out your cell phones-- your AT&T cell phones-- open up your Facebook app, and you can search for "CWA Next Generation" and hit "Like." You'll be able to keep track of our work. You can also find it at www.facebook.com/cwanextgen. Also on the CWA website, you can sign up to join the CWA network or you can sign up to be a mentor for a young member.

Let me briefly describe some of our plans moving forward. First we are developing an even more comprehensive outreach program designed to reach out directly to every CWA member who is 35 years of age or younger. We are going to gauge their interest in getting more involved in leading our movement.

Second, through this outreach we want to build a network of Next Generation activists. Our goal is to have 10,000 members in the network by 2015.

Third, we will continue offering training and mentoring programs to our Next Generation members to ensure they have the skills and the support needed to thrive in the movement and to lead us into the future.

Finally, our longer term vision is to develop Next Generation initiatives within each district, sector, division, and local that will serve as a pipeline to the national network.

In conclusion, I want to close with a couple of words from the CWA Next Generation Vision Statement. "Next Generation: CWA will continue to grow and lead a diverse and vibrant young labor movement by educating, empowering, and mobilizing the next generation of labor leaders who will help to engage the rank and file union members, progressive allies, community groups and students to advance social and economic justice."

Thank you very much. Solidarity Forever! (Applause)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Thanks, Ron and Jake and the Next Generation.

I want to call on Vice President Claude Cummings for the purpose of an announcement.

#### VICE PRESIDENT CLAUDE CUMMINGS: Thank you, President Cohen.

Good afternoon, delegates. As most of you know by now, we had a horrible explosion in Waco, Texas, last week. Fortunately, no CWA members lost their lives, but we do have a number of them that lost property. We do have two locals that represent members in that city-- President Jason Harwell of Local 6225 and President Bill Brown of Local 6174.

As I stated earlier, they did have members in their locals that lost their homes and other property. So we are asking for prayers for them. Also we are giving them forms to request money through the Disaster Relief Program. They are asking that we have a moment of silence for those who were adversely affected by that tragedy in Waco.

... A moment of silence was observed to remember CWA members in Waco, Texas ...

#### VICE PRESIDENT CUMMINGS: Thank you.

**SECRETARY-TREASURER HILL:** Okay, some last announcements: Tomorrow at lunch, there will be a rally. We have two AT&T locations that are in jeopardy of closing. They are both pretty close by. So there will be people in the back who will help direct you, and hopefully we will get a lot of participation. So we will remind everyone about that in the morning.

Today we have many districts that have either or both Defense Fund Oversight Committee elections and/or Trial Court. They will be meeting 15 minutes after adjournment, and the polls will be open for one hour. The results will be announced tomorrow. District 1 will be meeting in Room 310; District 3 in 311; District 4 in 315-316; District 7 in room 319-320; and District 9 in 317-318.

Please don't leave anything on the tables unless you don't want it anymore, because they will be cleaning the tables off when you leave.

... Convention announcements ...

**SECRETARY-TREASURER HILL:** As I said earlier, there is a reception being put on tonight by both the Civil Rights & Equity, the Women's Committee, and the CWA Human Rights Department. It will be in the Omni Grand Ballroom on the 17th floor from 7:00 to 9:00. There will be food and drinks and dancing and the opportunity to win some prizes. So hopefully we will get a lot of participation and a lot of new activists for human rights.

And finally, this is about the NLRB again, we need everyone to get involved in the fight to confirm all five members of the NLRB. You heard President Cohen earlier talk about the importance of this. So we are going to get engaged in a little collective action right here, right now. So get out your cell phones, hold them up. Come on, everyone get them out, hold them up to show me that you've got them out. Okay.

Now open up your text messaging, and text NLRB to 69866. Again that's to 69866 NLRB. And this will sign you up for the NLRB Rapid Response Team. So, one more time-- NLRB to 69866, as President Cohen is demonstrating because I forgot to bring my phone over here with me, but I will do it when I get back.

So how many did it? All right? Okay. And that's all the announcements I have. I will turn it back over to President Cohen.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Okay, great job today. The Convention is adjourned until 8:30 a.m.

... The Convention recessed at 5:32 p.m. ...

# **TUESDAY MORNING SESSION**

# April 23, 2013

The Convention reconvened at 8:35 a.m., President Larry Cohen presiding.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Delegates, take your seats, please. Good morning. Everybody have a great night? If you didn't, don't say anything.

We will wait just a minute for the invocation. (Brief pause)

It's my pleasure, for purposes of an invocation, to introduce Reverend Michael Dawson. I know him as my brother from Local 3204. That's right. He is not just here doing an invocation. He is here with us always. He was with others from the local and myself when we marched from Selma to Montgomery reenacting, in a much more peaceful way, that march for voting rights, civil rights.

Every time I have been at Local 3204-- as you heard from President Andrews yesterday-- Michael is there offering his greetings, his love, and his blessings. I present to you Michael Dawson, Local 3204. (Applause)

#### REVEREND MICHAEL DAWSON (Delegate, Local 3204): Let us pray.

Our Father which art in heaven, yes, you are a good Father. You are here today amongst us. We have men and women from across the country who have dedicated their lives to serve the membership.

Lord, I ask that you strengthen each one here, strengthen our leaders. Let everything that is said and done today be for Thy glory. Let us voice our opinions, but when we walk out of these doors, let us march as one. Let us be one blood. Let us be family. Let the companies that we face every day know that we care about each other. We are our brother's keeper.

We give you all the praise, honor, and glory in Jesus Christ's name. And all the saints said Amen.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** It's now my pleasure to introduce my friend and brother, the President of the United Steel Workers. Many of you walking around Pittsburgh saw their headquarters building. And so it's not just appropriate that Leo is here because he lives here and he works here. The United Steel Workers has an enormous presence in Pittsburgh. When we talked yesterday and more today about movement building, they are the center of movement building in Pittsburgh and far beyond.

Leo, as many of you know, is Canadian. When we had our convention in Toronto, he spoke to us there as well, and we made an alliance between our Canadian members and the United Steel Workers in Canada.

His roots in the Canadian Labour Movement are deep. He grew up in Sudbury Ontario, northern Ontario, in a mining town where his father was a union organizer, and that organizing was fierce. I heard stories from him about his father for many years. It's an incredible tradition to be part of that even I feel, Leo.

He came here as Secretary-Treasurer of the Steel Workers and now President but, more importantly, he comes here-- if it could be more importantly-- as someone with a union that has a similar story in many ways to our own. The United Steel Workers started as the Steel Workers Organizing Committee. In the earliest days of the CIO, the United Steel Workers was the largest of those unions that

gave birth to our own CWA-CIO. There wouldn't have been a CWA-CIO without unions like the United Steel Workers and the Mine Workers to literally fund that organizing and support that work in the late 1940s.

And that is the spirit of Leo Gerard today. He is still carrying on that tradition more than anyone of the CIO and of that kind of mix of militancy and movement building, of understanding that, as much as we might want to, our fight is not just with the union employer, but it's with the world we are in.

He does more work on the global economy than anyone I know, global alliances everywhere; enormous work on trade. The Steel Workers have led the way really in attacking the horrible trade agreements that have been made and are yet to be made by our government, whether Democrats with NAFTA or Republicans, and now, Leo, as we talked about yesterday, the TPP.

But most importantly for us, this is a union that, almost anywhere in the U.S. and Canada where you are doing movement building, if you are there, they will be there. Almost anywhere in the U.S. and Canada, when we need to reach out for a partner, whether it was in Arkansas when we took on Blanche Lincoln as the incumbent Democrat in the Senate, who was opposed to the Employee Free Choice Act and decent health care. We supported Bill Halter in that primary and the United Steel Workers, a larger union than ours in Arkansas, they were there because Leo was there.

On every trade fight, they are there because Leo is there. On the fight for decent health care, they are there because Leo is there. On the fight for the Employee Free Choice Act, they were there at every turn, because Leo was there. On the fight to change the Senate rules, they were there because Leo was there.

And I know that in the days ahead, as we fight to make sure, no matter where that fight takes us, that the National Labor Relations Board will have a Democratic majority because we realize that is only a starting point to put Democrats on notice that we are not going to stand for this anymore, I know that Leo and the United Steel Workers will be there.

It's my pleasure to present to you my friend, my dear brother, Leo Gerard, President of the United Steel Workers.

... The delegates arose and applauded at length ...

LEO GERARD (President, United Steel Workers Union (USW): Thank you. After that introduction, I think the best thing I could say is thank you and go home, and I'm not sure whether I am here or there.

On my way in here I was trying to practice my rap so I could compete with Larry, but I decided to just leave it alone. You have been punished enough. (Laughter)

The other thing I want to tell you is, I want to really welcome you to Pittsburgh, the home of the six-time Super Bowl champs. (Applause) Calm down. Let me tell you what we say in Pittsburgh. The Pittsburgh Steelers have six Super Bowl rings, the Pittsburgh Penguins have three Stanley Cup rings, and the Pittsburgh Pirates have onion rings. (Laughter)

I want to really talk a little bit about your union and your leadership. All those things that Larry said I was there on, we were there together. And on many of those issues, particularly the fights over EFCA, particularly the fights over trying to save our democracy, the fight to try and fix the broken Senate, I was there but Larry was ahead of me. Your union with your leadership in many ways became the moral fiber of that fight and refusing to give up. And, yes, the democracy that we love is under attack, and it's being ripped away from us because of the broken Senate rules, because of the abuse of the filibuster, primarily by Republicans. But many times, sisters and brothers, with the tacit consent of Democrats and the tacit consent of the leader of the majority sometimes, we have a system that can't deliver. It can't deliver on basic fundamental rights, the Employee Free Choice Act, the right to organize.

You don't have to be a rocket scientist. Look at what's happened to workers' income, and it parallels the erosion of the right to collective bargaining. Look at what's happened to the middle class, and it parallels the decline in the labor union density in the country. And the elites, the rich and the powerful, the one percent, they are quite comfortable with that. In fact, they like it. When we can't even get a National Labor Relations Board to be staffed, when we can't get judges through, you know that the Republican plan is to jam the system up, to make sure as little as possible gets done.

And let me make a statement that might be controversial but it's one I believe. A large part of the Republican agenda is that they can't stand that there is a black man in the White House, and we ought to take them on about that. (Applause) We ought to make sure that they understand that we know the difference and what's going on.

If you listen carefully, you can have arguments whether our President did enough or didn't do enough or whatever direction. But there are two things that are at stake here, and they are fighting with each other. You've got the President's agenda that's about growth; it's about trying to move some progressive stuff in the right direction. Maybe or maybe not. Maybe he doesn't fight hard enough for them, but he believes it.

Then you have the other side. The only thing they talk about is austerity. They talk about cutting Social Security, cutting Medicare, cutting every social program we have. We've got the sequester that is going to be hardest on working class people when it's all in place.

You want to see what austerity brings you? Follow the global economy and see what's going on in Europe. See what's going on in the United Kingdom where you've got now the UK heading for its quadruple dip recession. You've got people who have never had to live in cars before living in cars because they used to have social programs, but now they are gone.

So what's the first thing we need to do? We need to build a movement. Some folks may not like this. Not one progressive group, including the labor movement, is going to be able to change the direction of the country on their own. We need to bring our allies in. We need to work with people of faith. We need to work with people who are going to be looking for equity and equality. We need to work with every social movement that we can to build a real movement. And we need to reclaim our democracy.

And one of the first things we need to do to do that is to fix the broken Senate. And maybe we can't fix the broken Senate until we get the damn money out of politics. My vote is not for sale and neither should anyone else's be. (Applause)

The hard reality is that it doesn't have to be this way. It doesn't have to be the way that it's going. A long, long time ago in one of our trade fights, I heard someone say that there was an old Chinese proverb. I don't know if it's true or not that it was a Chinese proverb, but it went sort of like this: Unless you change direction, you will continue in the direction in which you are heading. It sounds pretty simple. When I heard it I thought, "What the hell is that?"

But when you start to think about it, sisters and brothers, we can't continue as a society in the direction in which we are heading. If we continue in that direction, think of what we are leaving to the next generation and the generation after that. I don't want that my generation left this country screwed up. I don't want that my generation didn't leave the country and the labor movement in a better position than

we inherited it. And the only way-- the only way that we are going to succeed in changing direction is by rebuilding a movement.

You know, our friend Cecil Roberts from the Mine Workers has interesting comments. Dr. King didn't just write letters to the President. He mobilized people, and they marched. Gandhi didn't free India by writing letters to the Queen. He marched. And when his oppressors beat him down and knocked him to the ground, he didn't get up and write a nasty letter. He got up and he marched and others joined him.

When Nelson Mandela was put in jail, he didn't just write letters to his oppressors. From jail he built a movement, and that movement not only freed him but freed the country.

So sisters and brothers, we've got to quit writing letters. We've got to start marching. We've got to start getting in the streets and telling people we are not taking this anymore. (Applause and cheers)

I don't want to infringe on the time of your conference, so let me just say this: It's time that we made sure that the 99 percent of us-- I don't like that 99 percent bullshit. There are too many of them between 99 and 100. The group of us that want a better future for our kids and want a better country, I want to believe and I do believe that we can make a difference. We can beat the Wall Street bankers. We can beat the Koch brothers. We can beat the dirty money in politics. We can beat the coupon-clipping, Gucci shoed, latte-drinking, Lexus-driving, pension-robbing, wage-stealing bunch of bastards that are out there. (Applause and cheers)

But we can only do it-- we can only do it, sisters and brothers, if we all pitch in and build the movement. All of the other groups that care about the future of our society are ready for change. They are ready to march. They are ready to work. They are ready to do what has to be done. And I want to believe that between now and 2014 we can change the direction of this country. And when our time is up in our union role, we will be able to look back and say it's a better country.

I travel a lot, and when I travel I like to try and bring something home for my wife, for my kids. My kids are now adults, so maybe I bring something home for my grandkids. Not long ago I was on the West Coast in San Francisco, and I went for a walk. And I walked by this Oriental gift shop. I am looking in the window and there's this brass rat that's sitting there in the window looking at me. This brass rat has eyes that just sort of peer right through you.

I thought, "Boy, that would be nice. I will bring that home and use it for a door stop at the cabin." So I went in and said to the old guy behind the counter-- he's one of these guys with a long beard-- and I say to him, "That brass rat in the window is really interesting. How much is it?"

He said, "Well, the brass rat itself is 25 bucks, but the story that goes with it is \$250."

I said, "I don't need any story. I just want the brass rat for a door stop."

He said, "Well, I will sell it to you, but you probably want the story."

I said, "No, I don't want the story. I just want the rat."

So I buy the rat. He gives it to me in a bag, and I start walking back to my hotel. As I start walking, I hear little footsteps behind me, and I look and there's about a dozen rats following me. I thought, "That's kind of weird."

I start walking a little faster. All of a sudden I hear (thumps on the podium). I look behind me and now there are dozens and dozens of rats.

I figure, "Oh, my God." I start running and I'm running toward the bridge. And all of a sudden,

things are jumping on me and pulling on my clothes, ripping all over the place. I look behind me. There's got to be 100,000 rats. I figure, "It's not me they want. It's this damn brass rat." I take it and I heave it as far as I can. It goes out into the ocean. These rats run right by me and they jump off the bridge into the ocean and drown. I said, "Wow, that was close."

I walk back to the Oriental gift shop. There's the little old man sitting there with a big huge grin on his face. He said, "I knew you would be back. I bet you want the story."

I said, "No. Do you have a brass Republican?" (Laughter) Thank you very much.

... The delegates arose and applauded at length ...

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** As District 4 delegates know, last night we held an election after the Convention, and by unanimous consent Linda Hinton was elected CWA Vice President District 4. (Applause and cheers)

So now we will administer the Oath of Office.

Do you, Linda Hinton, on your honor accept the office of Vice President and therefore the trust of Executive Board Member of the Communications Workers of America?

Do you solemnly swear to faithfully fulfill the responsibilities of your office and carry out the decisions, orders, and regulations of the duly-constituted authorities of the Communications Workers of America?

Do you hereby pledge yourself to assist your fellow Executive Board members to uphold the Constitution of the Communications Workers of America at any and all times?

Do you solemnly swear to work tirelessly to build our union by organizing the unorganized?

Do you swear that you will faithfully preserve the fundamental principles and traditions of a free and independent labor movement and pledge yourself to defend our nation and their constitutions?

Place your left hand upon and Bible, raise your right hand and pledge yourself to the Oath, and sign the CWA Constitution which is beside the Bible, thus symbolizing your conviction of your oath.

**VICE PRESIDENT HINTON:** To this I, Linda Hinton, Vice President District 4, Communications Workers of America, do solemnly swear.

... The delegates arose and applauded at length ...

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Before the address of the Secretary-Treasurer, I want to call on Vice President Veda Shook for a wonderful announcement. Movement building does work.

VICE PRESIDENT VEDA SHOOK (AFA-CWA): Good morning, sisters and brothers. We have talked a lot about movement building, and sometimes we can actually do real good community change, and we did it. We came to you at this convention with the threat looming that in two days' time there would be knives allowed back on board airplanes that have been banned since they were used to murder crew members and turn planes into towers and into weapons of mass destruction.

As you can imagine, with thousands of people dead after 9/11, including flight attendants as some of the first victims, that we were horrified when we heard the announcement from the administrator of TSA that they were going to allow knives back on board because the "risk-based approach to security" showed that knives are not a risk to security of the airplane as a weapon of mass destruction.

However, we were insistent that, in fact, it is a risk in the cabin. What about the rest of us? So when we heard that news, we immediately jumped into action, worked with our coalition of flight attendant unions, including our sisters and brothers who will be represented today by the Transport Workers Union later on by President Jim Little from TWU, as well as many other unions, and very much in coordination with CWA, with our friends and allies in Washington, DC, and beyond. And we were able to rapidly mobilize and effectively mobilize.

Well, I got the call yesterday. I had to step out to call Administrator Pistole of the TSA who called me to inform me that knives are not coming back on board. (Applause and cheers)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Great leadership by Veda, Sara, and Kevin, the officers of AFA-CWA, and all of you. This is, again, what our union-building, our legislative/political action teams do. And that effort and others will need to go on because I think there will be a commission appointed that, hopefully, Veda or someone from our union will be a part of. This is put off for 60 days. Hopefully, it's put off beyond that. But, again, that's what movement building looks like.

I want to thank yesterday's Platform Observers: Rich Murray, Local 4501; Randye Gilliam, TNG-CWA Local 31003.

Today's Platform Observers are: Vickey Hoots, President, Local 3640, and Will Sanders, Vice President, AFA-CWA 26064.

As I said yesterday, the first time she stood before you, we have a Secretary-Treasurer as committed to movement building and understanding the resources of the union and all the work she does that could be viewed as administrative, actually needs to be in support at this critical time. And those who were there with me and with her at the RMC heard her go through actually a great account of the movement building that we are doing.

So it gives me great pleasure to bring before you now our Secretary-Treasurer, who was the Executive Vice President before that, the District 7 Vice President, who absolutely knows that at this time, whether you work in the accounting department or whether you are the newest steward or member of our union, we are all united by a common vision. Our Secretary-Treasurer, Annie Hill. (Applause)

**SECRETARY-TREASURER ANNIE HILL:** Good morning, sisters and brothers. Since the last time I stood in front of you at the last Convention, my responsibilities to you and our union have significantly changed. One of my assignments that has not changed is leading our human rights work.

As you heard from President Cohen yesterday, movement building is the path we need to be on to rebuild hope and opportunity for American workers. Much of the work in our union needs to be stepped up to turn this from talk into action.

We have done much work over the past several years on the legislative and political front with the building of our LPAT structure, of which we are very proud. Many in this room are lead activists.

I was on the ground floor of that, and I am so proud to see all of the wonderful activists and the work that you do. What started as an idea on a whiteboard during our work on health care reform has grown into a robust program that has made a difference in local, state, and national elections, and become a strong voice in pushing our legislative agenda. Many new local leaders have developed additional skills and can now not only participate in campaigns, but effectively lead them.

I respect and admire the staff that is currently leading this work, and want to acknowledge Yvette Herrera, George Kohl, Rafael Navar, and Shane Larson for their leadership. Give them a round of applause. (Applause) I know that each of you will continue to build and develop the number of active

#### and effective LPATs.

Another important part of building a movement is further expansion of our human rights work. CWA has had a Civil Rights & Equity Committee in place since the 1970s. Initially these committees were put into place to address our own lack of leadership diversity at all levels of our union. While our membership was diverse, our leaders were primarily white males. The Committees and the conferences they sponsored, along with the push from the Minority Caucus, have helped shape and mold change within our union over the last 40 years.

While we need to continually look at ourselves in the mirror and ensure that we look like our membership, we have made huge strides. I found a picture that is in our Human Rights Department from when Joe Bierne was the President. I have actually taken it and shared it at some conferences. Sitting around the table are Executive Board people at the time, and every single person sitting at that table-- not to take anything away from their leadership-- was a white male.

Change can happen. And I would like the current Executive Board to stand up so you can see for yourself how much progress we have made. Please stand up. (Applause) We may not be there yet, but we have come a long way.

Focusing our work internally is not nearly enough. Our human rights work cannot stop within the boundaries of CWA. Human rights groups are an important piece of the puzzle to build a broader movement-- not only to move ahead, but to retain the rights that have been fought for in the past and are once again under attack.

Over the past year, with the leadership of our new Human Rights Director Chris Kennedy and CWA Staff Representative Nancy Biagini, we have expanded our focus. In 2012, for the first time, we developed a Human Rights Strategic Industry Fund proposal to provide resources in order to help develop external relationships and to identify and involve more local activists.

Some of the activities included participating with Reverend AI Sharpton's National Action Network in a march to commemorate Martin Luther King Jr.'s march in Selma. Many local leaders were there also. We also worked in partnership with the NAACP and TWU right here in Pennsylvania to protect voters' rights where many new activists volunteered to register new voters.

We also awarded several scholarships to attend the NAACP Convention and the Pride at Work Conference. This is not just about sending people to meetings; this is about them bringing their learning and new contacts back to their locals and building on it where they live.

In March of is this year, we worked in conjunction with Union Network International, UNI, at the United Nations and the summit held to highlight the violence that occurs against women around the world. Over a two-week period in New York City, we had wonderful local activists about 30 to 35, from Locals 1101, 1105, 1180, and 1040.

While they were all wonderful, I would be remiss if I didn't highlight the five women from Local 1101 and 1105 that were there every single day. They jumped right in and became leaders in their own right. They actually earned the title "The Fab Five." So thank you, 1101 and 1105.

Most recently I joined District 3 locals and staff in Memphis, Tennessee, to commemorate the Sanitation Workers' strike in 1968 and the death of Martin Luther King Jr. We were moved as we sat in the church where King Jr. gave his last public speech. And as we marched the next day along the route taken 45 years earlier, I felt the spirit of the strikers as they marched for their rights, and was overwhelmed to witness the Lorraine Hotel where King Jr. died.

We have learned many lessons from the initial Strategic Industry Fund and have recently

expanded based on our experiences. We have identified five key human rights groups to continue to build and cultivate relationships with: the NAACP, NOW, the National Alliance for Domestic Workers, La Raza, and the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force. We will also continue our relationship with the Congressional Black Caucus, and will build a stronger relationship with the Congressional Hispanic and Asian Pacific Caucus. In addition, we will strengthen other ties and work with all the AFL-CIO constituency groups.

But this is much more than donating some money and having relationships between a few people in Washington, DC. We know and you know that the real work happens in the field, and it is imperative to establish local connections and work together on local actions.

We are thrilled that we will now have all the districts, sectors and divisions represented on the committees. New voices and experiences can only help take our work to the next level. We also have a Human Rights Ad Hoc Committee which has representatives from all the CWA constituencies that promote human rights.

At an Ad Hoc meeting last year, there was discussion about whether it made sense to do some combination of the biannual conferences that are held and debated about potentially combining the two committees into a Human Rights Committee.

The Ad Hoc Committee firmly believes that there is still a role for the two separate committees, but it does make sense to have the conferences in the same location at the same time. This will be tried for the first time in June of 2014 in Las Vegas, Nevada. We hope by doing this that more locals and leaders will be able to participate, so watch for more information.

I also would be remiss if I didn't acknowledge the wonderful reception that happened last night. I think I saw almost every one of you there, and it gave us the opportunity to identify more and more activists that were willing to do human rights work.

So did everyone have a good time? (Applause) You ate all the food, so you must have. And I heard many of you were there until 12:30 and had to be kicked out, so I think that's the sign of a good time. But now the real work will begin once we leave here.

Now on to our retirees. Our retirees have been and always will be a key part of our union family. There they are, over there to the left. (Applause) Later today, you will be hearing their report, and I know you will be impressed with their hard work and involvement on everything-- from legislation and politics, to organizing and mobilizing for fair and just contracts.

The retirees were especially effective in generating handwritten letters in our fight to change the Senate rules. We want to thank them for all of their efforts. For the past 21 years, Helen Gibson has coordinated our work with the retiree chapters. She has been the primary leader in building the numbers of chapters and involved retirees. Helen will be retiring on May 2nd, and I want to take the time to acknowledge her. Helen, where are you? Please stand up. Please join me in thanking Helen. (Applause)

Helen told me she is the only mother they have ever had, so we'll have to find a new one. Helen, may you have a long and happy retirement.

While Helen will be impossible to replace, we are going to find somebody that will work and support the retirees full-time. That's how important they are to the work that we need to do.

Since our last Convention, there are 14 new retiree chapters, with District 7 leading the way with 7 of the 14. So thank you, District 7. (Applause)

In addition to the work by the chapters, there have been efforts coordinated by the Legislative Department to identify and involve retirees who are not lifetime members or part of chapters. We have 50,000 lifetime members, about 31,000 associated with a chapter. But we have an additional 120,000 potential retirees that could be involved in building our movement.

We have had some success with targeted town hall meetings and mailings on issues of specific interest to retirees. This information is shared with the Council leadership in order to build the chapters, and we have had some success in doing that. We will be continuing to build and strengthen our involvement with our retirees, and look forward to working with the Retiree Council leadership to assist us in this important work.

Many of your locals recognize the value retirees bring and continually support and involve them, but unfortunately it appears that some still question the value they can bring. When President Cohen and I attended and met with the retiree officers, they shared some stories of their concern about lack of support from some locals and about their efforts and didn't think that they brought any value. They shared specific stories about the time they spent at wireless stores in support of the bargaining that was going on for active employees without any support from local unions.

I hope that this will change and we won't have to hear those stories in the future. These folks have worked hard, they helped build this union, and they deserve respect and support from every single one of us in this room. (Applause)

Our union has had the same dues systems for many decades. We used the MUMS system when I was a secretary of two different locals in the mid-70s and early '80s. While MUMS may have served its purpose, technology and our needs have dramatically changed. And so just over two years ago when Secretary-Treasurer Rechenbach was here, we made a decision to update our dues system. Local and national needs were analyzed, and we hired a company we have worked with in the past, JayStar, to begin building a new membership and dues processing program.

JayStar proposed Orion, a web-based system that would provide many efficiencies and improvements. While we knew that the conversion would be complicated, I don't think either we or JayStar realized that it would be as difficult as it has turned out to be. Fortunately, we have turned the corner, and we are on the home stretch of the conversion.

We have two big challenges in processing our dues, challenges that will not change even with a new system. One is that we do not control the data that we receive. We either receive it from the employer or we receive it from the locals. If the correct data is not provided, then the information in the system will not be correct.

The second challenge is that we have multiple formulas for processing dues. We have units that are 60/40, 70/30 and 75/25. We have units that pay flat dues based on the averages and flat amounts tied to the fact that they don't have collective bargaining rights, and each of them has contributed to the challenges of the conversion.

Instead of rushing to implement the new system, we wanted to ensure that the data would be as accurate as possible. I know some of you have experienced processing delays, and for that I apologize. We wanted to ensure the new system was working as it should, so data was processed in both systems, doubling our work for several months. All locals now have access to the new system, but other features will be added over time.

Twenty-nine webinars have been conducted before we came to Convention with 372 local officers participating. We also held three workshops here at Convention. We will continue to provide online training and trainings at meetings until all locals are trained.

The initial focus has been on getting the membership records and dues processing up and running. But other functions of the system include grievance tracking, immediate and easy access to your members' information, including contact information, e-mail addresses, and Political Action Fund and voting districts.

You also have a tab containing your local's officer information, your steward mobilizer and activist, and even your local charter language. As you get familiar with this new system, we will be interested in your feedback on what you like, don't like, and any suggestions on how to add to it.

Because the system is web-based, the information that locals and headquarters are viewing is the same and in real time-- a huge improvement. The information, such as member status, address changes, officer changes, steward additions, etc., no longer will be done by submitting forms. I'm sure you will miss those. This information can be updated and changed online and will be immediately available online to both the local and the Finance and Membership Dues Departments.

Locals will have the ability, when new information such as address changes is provided by an employer, to accept that information or override it. This item was one of the top items expressed to us over and over again.

There are several canned reports that have been programmed into the system, such as lists of members within an employer group, lists of stewards, mobilizers and activists, and member changes. You also are able to print labels for your whole local or by specific groups you identify. And, you will shortly have the ability to create your own custom reports by workplace, membership status, zip code, political action fund contributors, and more.

We believe the new system will be more efficient and more accurate. Yes, we may have some bumps in the road as we finalize conversion, but the end result will be worth it.

Some of you have asked questions about the status of the MUMS. MUMS will eventually go away, but not until all locals are up and running on the new system and all the components are working.

Much information has been shared over the last 15 months about the status of our revenue, our costs, especially legacy costs, and the changing membership of our union. Expanded information was initially shared at our Presidents Meeting last February, and more in-depth information, some at the request of the local leaders, was shared over the course of the year. This information factored into many of the discussions and changes that were proposed at this year's Convention.

We established an additional web page where we provide information that is updated monthly on the status of the budget and the membership. This is information that was previously only shared with the Executive Board.

It is imperative, as we face tough challenges, that leaders at all levels of our union have access to additional relevant information. Our commitment is to continue to provide you with this important information. We want to have transparency of our finances.

As we heard from the Finance Committee yesterday, our projected dues revenue continues to decline, and we project that over the next five years we could see another 10 to 20 percent additional decline.

There are two primary factors that impact our dues revenue: One is the number of members, and the second is the average per capita that each member generates. As we have seen over the last several years, our membership has continued, though the losses have slowed in our current fiscal year. The major declines in that time period have been in wire line telecom, manufacturing, and media. Airlines and the Public Sector have remained relatively stable, but we are not certain what the future holds,

though we have a glimpse, especially with the public sector.

Through this year for the first ten months, the public sector has lost about 4,000 people. With the private sector weakened and dramatically decreased union density, the public sector now finds itself under attack-- and I know that's not a surprise to many of you-- and it is being reflected in the number of members.

We have been fortunate to have some organizing gains that have helped offset the downward slide, with the most dramatic being the wire line side of telecom. We have 4,000 new members in Piedmont Airlines with a first contract-- (applause) --and 1,500 new Premise Technicians in District 3 and another 1,500 potential.

But we have also had some disappointing losses-- American Passenger Services to name one. Later we will acknowledge the organizing work done by many locals, and I want to commend you all as the works seems almost impossible, with employers ratcheting up their anti-union behavior and being bolder than they have ever been before.

Unfortunately, we do not see any significant gains to our membership in the future and believe that some of our key industries will continue to decline.

The second issue is the average amount of per capita. In the past, we have seen our average per capita increase which has helped offset our membership loss. Unfortunately, those increases have significantly slowed down. The primary reasons are retirement or the departure of higher paid members, and increasing numbers of members that have a lower hourly wage. This is further impacted by smaller average wage increases or the payment of lump sums instead of general wage increases.

CWA employees' wages and benefits and retirees' pension and health care are our highest single costs and constitute a large part of our current budget, and we have 200 less CWA employees than we did eight years ago. As was reported out in our discussions, all of the CWA employees have had their wages frozen for either two or three years, and changes were made to both the pension plan and health care to help alleviate some of the liability.

We just completed early negotiations with two of the nine unions. An agreement was reached that has been ratified that extends the existing contract for two more years. The pension and health care concessions continue, and there will be a wage increase in each of the two years. The amount of employees and costs will continue to be monitored closely, and we will look for ways to save money while being a responsible employer.

Besides containing employee legacy costs, we have to ensure that we are using our financial resources wisely. This will mean we have to change how we bargain and how we make decisions about staffing vacancies.

Much of our negotiations with larger employers are lasting much, much longer than they ever used to. Many of them have lasted a year or more, yet in many cases we have the same-sized teams. With all of the costs associated with bargaining-- travel, hotel, meals, and sometimes wages-- costs escalate quickly. As was requested by the Finance Committee, we need to determine how we can lower our bargaining costs without impacting our ability to negotiate fair and just contracts.

We also need to ensure that we are staffing our work priorities. This means ensuring that we are not just representing our members, but also dedicating a significant amount of time on organizing and movement building. If we do not focus a larger percentage of our time, resources, and energy on this work, we will soon have no members to represent.

These are just a few of the challenges that we have ahead of us.

I want to acknowledge the nine unions that represent our employees, the Finance Committee, and the Defense Fund Oversight Committee for taking their responsibilities seriously and being open and willing to new approaches as we work to keep our total union viable.

The changes that were adopted yesterday by this Convention will provide additional resources for us to strengthen our union and to broaden our movement. Thank you very much. (Applause)

One of the questions that was raised at the Presidents Meeting was about the status of the CWA Headquarters building. The building is the only asset within our union that is not targeted for a specific reason, and we own it outright. This is the first year that the building has not only covered its own expenses, but generated a profit, which we factored in as \$2.5 million in our current fiscal year budget. In the budget you adopted yesterday, the income from the building is estimated to be \$2 million.

Over the last several months, we've worked with outside consultants to analyze and make recommendations specific to the building. We currently occupy just a little over half of the building and lease out the other half. We are fortunate in the current DC rental market to have only a two percent vacancy rate. We have over time continued to lease out more and more space and consolidate the CWA operations.

The recommendations we received, based on the economy and the status of the rental market in DC which also impacts the value, is that it is not a good time to sell the building, but that is always an option for the future.

In the meantime, we are continuing to aggressively market the vacant space we have. In addition, we are willing to lease out space currently occupied by some of our support functions and move to less expensive space within the DC area.

On a positive note, to date this year we are running significantly under our budget and our cash flow is positive. All of the Board members are working very hard to keep it that way.

I want to thank Beth Yeckley and all of the supervisors in the Membership & Dues Department, Bob Patrician, Administrative Director; Melissa Ferguson, our Meeting Coordinator; our support personnel, Yvette Taylor, Robin Childress, and Sandi Dargavel. And last but certainly not least, my assistant, Teri Pluta, who is one of the hardest working people I know and a true friend. Thank you, Teri. (Applause) All of this work would not be accomplished without them.

One of the recommendations that was pulled from the Board was consideration for creating a minimum size local. This is not the first time this has been suggested. The number and size of locals was information that was shared at the Presidents Meeting, and some leaders suggested that we establish a minimum size local.

When the recommendation was sent to locals, it was clear there was a concern about taking that step. The Constitution Committee was not going to support the proposal, and so it was pulled. The primary reason it was not-- you can clap. It's okay. (Applause)

The primary reason it was not supported was that the Committee reminded us that the Constitution gives the Board authority to ultimately revoke the charter of a local, regardless of its size, that is not meeting their requirements under the Constitution. And they are correct.

As elected national leaders, we have a responsibility to provide support to ensure that <u>all</u> locals are fully functioning. It is more important than ever for each local to meet all of the requirements outlined in the Constitution, and it just needs to go beyond administrative requirements.

We know we have locals that do not submit dues in a timely manner, do not file reports with the government at all or timely, or meet other administrative functions. Some local leaders believe that, as long as they file grievances and have a contract in place, they are doing what is necessary. But it is not enough anymore. We need every local to be actively involved and working to build a broad-based movement. Our very existence and the rights of workers depend on it.

Many locals are going above and beyond and stepping up to this challenge, but we need every local-- all 960 of us-- to be fully functioning. That is our goal, and we are prepared to support each and every one of you to accomplish that.

In closing, I want to say that I am committed to working to improve all of my areas of responsibility, but I cannot do it alone. I recognize every proposal, solution, or new idea will not be supported, and that is okay.

The important thing is that we do not give up trying to find a path to keep our union vital and relevant. So I will be looking to all of you for suggestions, ideas, and constructive criticism in every forum so our union can continue to build a movement, not only for today's members, but for future CWA members.

Thank you so much, and solidarity forever. (Applause)

Now it's my pleasure to kick off our segment on the Elizabeth Glaser Pediatric AIDS Foundation. This year the Elizabeth Glaser Pediatric AIDS Foundation is celebrating its 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary, and the Foundation has been CWA's charity of choice for 22 of those 25 years.

Collectively we have been very, very generous with our financial support, and you will hear more about that shortly.

Over the years, the Foundation has achieved amazing results. What was once just a dream is now a real possibility. HIV AIDS can be conquered. We can and will have a generation free of AIDS. I know many of you who have attended past Conventions have been moved by the Foundation ambassadors, including Elizabeth Glaser's son Jake. Their stories are at first heartbreaking and then hopeful.

A few months ago, Vice President Chris Shelton, along with locals and staff from District 1, attended a Global Champion fundraising dinner and were able to experience firsthand the work the Foundation has done. We hope to involve more locals in early June at the "Time for Heroes" celebration in Los Angeles.

Today we are proud and honored to have a very special guest who has not just a story of hope, but one of joy. Before we hear from her, I want to welcome and introduce Chip Lyons. Since 2010, Chip has been the President and CEO of the Foundation. He brought his experience from his work at UNICEF and the Gates Foundation.

I am fortunate to serve on the Foundation's Board of Directors and have witnessed firsthand his commitment, his focus, and his leadership. He has helped refocus the Foundation's work with a clear goal of eradicating pediatric AIDS from this earth. I am proud to call him a friend-- Chip Lyons. (Applause)

## CHIP LYONS (President/CEO, Elizabeth Glaser Pediatric AIDS Foundation): Good morning.

Annie, thank you very much. President Cohen, thank you for the opportunity to be with you. And to delegates, I am very proud to have just a few minutes to introduce Martha.

But I really have two objectives this morning-- to try and begin to convey our thanks and appreciation for what CWA has done over so many years; and to turn the podium and the message over to Martha, who is the most vivid example in one woman, in one family, of what CWA has accomplished with its, in our mind, spectacular generosity over two decades, more than two decades.

If I can paraphrase what you said, President Cohen, the reason EGPAF has been there for so many families over the years is because CWA has been there. I think you know that, but we want to reiterate and characterize just the degree to which that's been the case over the years.

I, naturally, in coming here, thought back to when CWA and EGPAF first met, and that was when Elizabeth Glaser herself was here to speak with you. Elizabeth told you her story, how she contracted HIV through a blood transfusion, and the fact that she unknowingly passed the virus on to her two children. She asked for your support. You gave her your support.

All she could do at that time was to promise a brighter future. We are living that brighter future. What CWA has accomplished together with EGPAF is nothing short of staggering. Fifteen years ago we didn't know what to do to reduce transmission from mother to child of the virus. Twelve years ago, we identified a single pill, a medicine that could reduce the transmission by about 50 percent.

Today we have the most effective medicines that not only reduce transmission rates to below five percent, but they protect the mother, the woman's health. (Applause) She is able to care for her children, her HIV-negative children, she is able to live a fulfilling healthy life, she is able to go back to work, she is able to care for her entire family, and contribute to her community.

Over these last 15 years, EGPAF has reached more than 16 million women with counseling and testing services-- 16 million women. Elizabeth made a promise that we would have a brighter future. She didn't have a plan at that time, because we didn't have all the tools we needed at that time. This is that brighter future.

What CWA has done has saved countless lives through HIV prevention, care, and treatment programs. You have helped drive a research agenda that has provided the tools that we need. We are changing the trajectory of the pandemic.

Secretary Clinton 18 months ago announced, "We can see how to get to a generation free of HIV and AIDS for the first time in 30 years." We can see that because of the work that's been done, week in week out, year in year out, at the community level, by EGPAF, by other partners, with CWA's support.

It is our view that we may not ever be able to adequately thank delegates and the entire union of CWA. Your support has been that profound, that steadfast, over 22 years. What we <u>can</u> do, though, is hope that you take and have a profound satisfaction for what you have contributed, and together reiterate the promise that Elizabeth made 20 years ago: We will get there.

We now know how to eliminate pediatric AIDS. We know what to do, we know where to do it, and we are doing it. But we are there because CWA is there. I promise you the question of eliminating pediatric AIDS and having a generation free of HIV is a question of when, not if.

I want to introduce to you Martha Cameron. She is an HIV-positive woman who courageously shares her story, who helps to remind people that HIV is still out there in the United States. It is particularly still urgent and an emergency and imminently life-threatening where it is most concentrated--on the continent of Africa-- and where our work is most concentrated.

Martha is a counselor. She is a wise woman. She has lived a life of experience that she would never have chosen if it were an option, but from which she has gained such strength, such wisdom, and such ability to reach others that she is an example to the rest of us in wanting to fulfill our mission and to

meet the promise that we have made to you and to ourselves.

There is a short video that I would like you to watch first that tells you a little bit more about Martha, and then Martha will join you. Please take a look.

... A poignant video was shown about Martha Cameron and her incredible success in winning the battle of living with AIDS ... (Applause)

**MARTHA CAMERON:** Good morning, everyone. I was a little overwhelmed when I came into the room and saw how many people I had to speak to, but seeing that video and seeing the kids has reminded me of the reason why I am here and given me a little bit more courage. (Applause)

My name is Martha Sichone Cameron. I am an ambassador for the Elizabeth Glaser Pediatric AIDS Foundation. It feels wonderful to be here today. This is my first CWA Convention, but everyone has been so kind, such beautiful, smiling faces. I really feel like I have been coming here for a long time and hopefully I can come back again.

The video you watched briefly introduced me, but I wanted to personally tell you my journey. And believe it or not, you have all been a part of it. If you had told me ten years ago that I would be here speaking to you today, I really don't think I would have believed you.

At that time, I was living in my home country, Zambia. It's in the southern part of Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, which has been devastated by AIDS. And I was very sick-- so sick that I never thought I would make it through that time.

AIDS wasn't new to Zambia. It wasn't new to my family. I have lost a huge part of my family, including my parents. I personally nursed my own mother in 1998, and at that time not really knowing, but now I know she died due to AIDS-related complications. I have attended 12 funerals of my own first cousins. Funerals happen almost every month. It was somebody I knew. It was either a family member or a friend.

I know AIDS. Some of you may not really understand some of the clinical terms, but when I was diagnosed, I had a CD4 count of 2, and I had a viral load in the millions. I was given six months to live.

But I found something that my mother's generation didn't have-- it was the life-saving medications that came through the PEPA funding, and I had access to that medication and began to get better.

It was during that time of recovery that I met my now husband, Andy. He is American. He had traveled to Zambia to volunteer on a mission trip, an organization that I worked for which helped orphans that were AIDS orphans. He swept me off my feet and made me feel loved. I still think he was crazy. (Laughter) But he erased all my fears about being alone because of my HIV status.

We got married and began thinking about children. As you heard in the video, it's part of our tradition. It's our culture. If you don't have that bond within the first year of your marriage, then there is something wrong. I had looked forward to having children, but I wasn't sure that it was going to be possible because I had HIV. We take pride in motherhood. It's part of our identity.

Before meeting Andy, I would have never thought I would have been able to have HIV-negative children. I was worried about how others would perceive me if I never experienced motherhood, but the idea of having an HIV-positive child was even more devastating, and I didn't think I could do that.

But I think here is the part of my story where you come in because, unbeknownst to me, you were here and the Foundation was working hard to find research that could make this possible. When I spoke to the doctors who would tell me that there was a possibility and we would agree to do it, I would go back

home and still think, "This might not really be possible." I changed my mind about three times before ever taking that final step. I had a husband who loved me, and could I be so lucky to have children too?

The only reason this medicine was in Zambia and accessible to a woman like me is because of people like you. Your generosity and your commitment to giving all women the chance of healthy children brought to me and so many other women around the world a reason to hope.

In 2009 we welcomed our first son, a beautiful HIV-negative boy. (Applause) His name is Josiah, and he has an African name, too. It's "Wanjivwa." It means "God has heard me." He is part of my family. He is a part of your family, too, because you have helped our dream as parents come true.

Having felt the incredible gift of an HIV-free child, I was determined to make sure that every woman had the same chance and moved to the United States and had another HIV-negative child. His name is Judah, and he also has an African name. His name is Zewelanji. (Applause)

I am still committed to the fight. I have learned so much through my experiences as an HIVpositive pregnant woman in two countries. I can tell you that what strikes me most is to know how much harder it is. It was much harder for me in Africa to learn about those services, those life-saving services that I needed, versus here in the United States.

Every mother, regardless of where she lives, deserves a healthy child. Every child deserves a promising future. Unfortunately, too many women either don't know that they can or do not have access to the tools that they need to do so.

I was actually recently in Zambia, and Zambia was being commended about the strides in PMTC, but they were very quick to remind us of the people in the rural areas in our country that do not have access yet to the PMTC services.

My children are a gift, a gift that all mothers should know. But every day around the world more than 900 children are infected with HIV, an overwhelming majority from mother-to-child transmission. All of these infections are preventable.

And while we are making progress in the fight against pediatric AIDS, there are still too many moms lacking the medicines they need to have healthy babies. There are still too many babies dying of AIDS. In fact, half of all HIV-infected infants will die before they can celebrate their second birthday.

These aren't just statistics. These are human lives. These are people I know. These are my brothers and sisters and my friends. Judah just turned two, and I would love for some other women from where I come from to experience that joy as well.

We have the power to change their world, and slowly I know we are doing just that. Because of your commitment, the Foundation is one of the largest contributors to the fight against pediatric AIDS around the world. In fact, one in every five women who receive services to prevent the transmission of HIV to their children do so through foundation-supported services.

Personally, I am reminded of your impact every time I look at my children. I know that they are going to grow up and have a chance to dream and achieve greater things. And thanks to you, many other children will have a chance to do that as well. (Applause)

You know, when we were younger, I used to be taken to visit my grandparents in a village. And from the time we would get off the bus, it would be a whole day's walking travel to get to where we were going. We would pass through many different villages. And each time we went through one of those villages, we would be received by total strangers who would refresh us for the rest of our journey and help us a little bit along for the next part of the way.

And the lesson in all of that is that they would tell us as we were moving along, you know, "You help a stranger because you don't know when you will need that opportunity as well." And people did this with such a wonderful heart. Now, I know that the people in those villages, some of them never have a chance to even leave those villages and some of them never get to experience that kindness.

But I really wanted to share that from my heart today, because I have had an opportunity to witness your kindness. I have an opportunity to meet people here on the other part of the world who are able to help strangers that, you know, don't even know you.

Your tireless efforts and support are helping make pediatric AIDS history. But more important than that, I want you to know that CWA, every CWA local and each of you individually, are giving hope and happiness to millions of moms around the world-- moms who, if given the chance, would be here with me today to thank you themselves.

And I know that Chip said we wouldn't be able to adequately thank you, but I wanted to do something the way we thank people from Africa, and I hope that you accept this on behalf of all the mothers from Africa and around the world that you have helped.

... The delegates arose and applauded at length as Martha got down on her knees and bowed to the delegates ...

**SECRETARY-TREASURER HILL:** Thank you, Chip, and thank you, Martha, for sharing your amazing story.

I also want to introduce-- Jill, could you stand up? Jill Davis is our contact at the Foundation that we work with, so we will be getting her number and information on our web page. She has been great to work with and help us on our fundraising efforts. So thank you, Jill.

I know we at CWA are committed to doing everything in our power to continue the fight to eradicate AIDS from the global community. Now I want to turn the program over to Madelyn Elder, President of Local 7901, and At-Large Diversity Board Member from the Western Region. (Applause)

**AT-LARGE DIVERSITY BOARD MEMBER MADEYLN ELDER:** Good morning, sisters and brothers. It is my pleasure to present the Elizabeth Glaser Pediatric AIDS Foundation Awards. In the last 20 years CWA members, together with your leadership, have been extremely generous, and we have raised over \$7 million on behalf of the Foundation. (Applause)

As you just heard, this money has been used to advance the Foundation's research, training, and advocacy programs around the world. This year, 459 locals participated in our charity of choice. This is over 25,000 more people than 2011 and even more than 2010 when we had 55,000 less members. What an amazing achievement. Thank you for your ongoing support and generosity. Now give yourself a hand. (Applause)

Before we give out the official awards, I want to acknowledge a group of special locals. Each of these locals contributed at least 200 percent of their quota of \$1 per member per year. Many of these locals do an amazing job fundraising so they don't put pressure on their already stretched treasuries.

I would like to welcome to the stage the following locals:

14101, President Thomas Altieri14131, President Linda Quinn81214, President Kerry Homan14330, President William Weaver, III. Bob Maida is going to accept

83105, President Anthony Marciante
83188, President Jeremy Sprinkle
4484, President James Crozier
4780, President Roland Michael
54048, President Zaragosa Maldonado
84302, President Mark Hannel
7019, President Irene Robles
7026, President Shad Ercanbrack
7803, President Jeanne Stewart
7810, President David Hyde
14759, President Heather Porter
9410, President Orange Richardson
9413, President James Burrel
9505, President Tony Gonzales

Let's give them all a round of applause. (Applause)

Now on to the Ariel Glaser and Hope Awards: The Ariel Glaser award is presented to the local that raised the most money in 2012. The Ariel Glaser award is in honor of Elizabeth Glaser's daughter who died from complications from the AIDS virus at the young age of seven in 1988.

This year the Ariel Glaser award is presented to Local 9505 for raising an astounding \$13,630. Thank you, President Tony Gonzales, for you and your local's dedication to this worthy cause. (Applause)

The Hope Award is presented to the local that achieved the highest percentage of their quota each year. This year we will honor three locals. The first award will go to Local 54048 in the category of locals with less than a hundred members. They raised an amazing 1200 percent of their quota. Thank you, President Zaragosa Maldonado, for your local's great work. (Applause and cheers)

The second award goes to Local 7026 in the category of locals with between 100 and 500 members. They raised 1473 percent of their quota. Thank you, President Shad Ercanbrack, for your commitment to the Foundation's effort. (Applause)

And the final award is presented again to Local 9505 in the category of locals with greater than 500 members. The local raised 900 percent of their quota. Thank you, Tony Gonzales, President, Local 9505. (Applause)

Our thanks and congratulations go out to all the members of these three locals for their support. Great job. (Applause)

And please give all of our locals on the stage a big round of applause. And again, thank our guests from the Elizabeth Glaser Pediatric AIDS Foundation.

Thank you very much, brothers and sisters.

... The delegates arose and applauded ...

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Now I would like to ask the Retired Members' Council to come to the platform. Here they come. And I would call on Vice President Ralph Maly to introduce the members of the Council, and also say that no one works probably as hard, definitely harder than Ralph, fighting for retiree health care against incredible odds, particularly companies like Alcatel-Lucent where we now have about a thousand active members and probably 80,000 or more retirees, an impossible task. Ralph Maly. (Applause)

VICE PRESIDENT RALPH MALY: Good morning, brothers and sisters. At this time, I would like to take the opportunity to introduce you to the Retired Members' Council. The members of the Council are:

Patrick Welsh, District 1 President Adelle Rogers, District 1 Vice President Mike Vivirito, District 2 President Jenny Sylvester, District 2 Vice President Dusty Winters, District 3 President Mary Curry, District 3 Vice President Annie Flack, District 4 President Mary Gregory, District 4 President Marcy Gregory, District 4 Vice President Ray Kramer, District 6 President Priscilla Brown, District 6 Vice President Judy Fries, District 7 President Polly Peixoto, District 7 Vice President Addie Brinkley, District 9 President Ronnie Kinney, District 9 Vice President Steve Yokopenic, District 13 President Joe Kincade, District 13 Vice President Herman Pastingel, IUE-CWA President Adlophe Bernotas, Media Workers Vice President

The following members of the Council could not be present today. Patricia Friend, AFA-CWA President; Georgia Panter Nielsen, AFA-CWA Vice President; Gaylen Turner, IUE-CWA Vice President; and Bill Freeda, Media Workers President.

It is now my privilege to introduce you to the Executive President of the Retired Members' Council, Ray Kramer.

## RAY KRAMER (Retired Members' Council): Thank you, Ralph.

Ralph has introduced you to our Executive Board. I would like to recognize one of the persons that Annie Hill already introduced you to, and that is our CWA Liaison Helen Gibson. (Applause)

Helen has worked with the retirees for many years, actually since 1992. Of course, there were some conflicts along the way. Of course, when you take a hard-headed woman like Helen trying to lead a bunch of hard-headed retirees like us, there are bound to be conflicts.

You have heard the phrase, "If you can't beat 'em, join 'em." Well, Helen has informed us she is giving up the fight and going to join us. (Applause) Either that or she has enjoyed watching our lifestyle so much that she wanted to be a part of us. But either way, Helen has announced her retirement, and we welcome her to our world of retirement and wish her a joyous, healthy, and long retirement. And thank you, Helen, for being there for us. (Applause)

My remarks may seem plagiarized, but I will give credit to the members of my Board, my speech writer, and to Annie Hill who gave most of my report earlier.

"Retiree; Retired" - Mr. Webster, defines a retiree as "one that has withdrawn from their position or occupation"; "to conclude ones position or occupation"; "to withdraw from the enemy"-- that probably suits us. We finally got away from management.

What is your definition? You would probably say that we are used up, of no benefit. We're gone. We're history.

Yes, we are history, but we are not gone. We are not gone, but we are fading. Today I stand here giving this report. At our last Convention, Ray Meyers stood here. At your Convention before that, Bobby Brown stood here. You may remember Bobby is the one that hated scabs, not only scabs but their entire family. (Applause)

And before Bobby, it was Ed Creegan who stood here. And we also lost Chuck Latimer, Vice President of District 9; and Fuzzy Finch, former President of District 3 last year. These people were all dedicated union activists.

We are not gone and we are still useful. We are strong and energetic and tenacious despite what we all know are tough times for our members. Together, you, the current members of CWA, and the retirees I proudly represent, make our union one of the most active and influential unions in the country.

This year makes 25 years since the RNC was founded. The CWA Retired Members' Council now has over 50,000 members, as Annie pointed out. We are a powerful voice fighting for the issues that affect our lives in retirement, and for the issues that affect your lives, your children, and your grandchildren.

Those 50,000 members are spread among 212 retired members' chapters, covering every CWA district and sector and nearly every state as well as Washington, DC, and now Puerto Rico. (Applause)

We have had added 13 chapters since the last Convention. We have grown by more than 8 percent, by more than 4,000 members since the last Convention. The downside to that is that our potential is still over 120,000 members, as Annie pointed out. You help us every time you give the gift of a \$25 lifetime membership to a retiring CWA member. Also, make yourself familiar with our website, www.cwaretirees.org.

We support CWA and every corner of the Triangle-- bargaining, mobilizing, legislative and political action. What have we done since the last Convention? Our chapters adopted Verizon Wireless stores across the country during the year-long Verizon bargaining campaign. That's right, all across the country. (Applause)

Even though bargaining was taking place in Districts 1 and 2-13, we helped CWA raise awareness among Verizon customers and potential customers from coast to coast which helped put pressure on management.

We have held telephone Town Hall meetings to inform and mobilize retirees. This helped us to be more involved in actions like the Verizon campaign, as well as legislative and political action-- from Senate rules reform to the call center bill, to the critical fight we are in now to stop cuts to Social Security and Medicare. We have called, sent letters, postcards and emails, and paid personal visits to our members of Congress.

We are also a very important part of what President Cohen calls "Movement Building." It's about multiplying our power, building relationship with our allies who have similar values, even if their specific agendas are different. We have seen that kind of movement building work already on the national stage in 2008 and last year when we reelected President Obama and won many other important races.

Our chapter members play an important role. We register new voters. We've block-walked, knocked on doors, we've phone banked, worked in our precincts, we worked the polls, we've worked at our Democratic headquarters. We gave rides to the elderly so they could cast their votes. We are great volunteers. I think we are making a difference. And we will continue to make a difference-- for ourselves,

for you, and for future generations who deserve the same benefits we enjoyed.

Now, back to history: Yes, we are history. In fact, this Board alone represents over 800 years of history. Over there in the retiree section is even more history. (Applause) Eight hundred years of history equates to 800 years of experience-- 800 years of experience in picket duty, 800 years of experience in demonstrations, 800 years of experience in mobilizing and organizing, 800 years of experience in all facets of union activism. By the way, they represent 300 years of retirement experience.

Now, consider all that history, all that experience in this small group of retirees. How much history, how much experience is represented by the retirees in your locals? What can you do with all that history, with all that experience? You can put it to work for you. If you have a Retired Members' Chapter in your local, involve them in your mobilizing efforts, in your demonstrations, in your informational picketing.

And if you don't have a Retired Members' Chapter in your local, get one. If you don't know how to get one started, contact your District and Sector representatives on this Board. They would be more than happy to assist you. They can supply you with all the necessary forms to get started. They will also be happy to meet with you and your retirees. They have the experience. Put them to work. Besides, they get paid a commission on every new chapter they organize. Yeah, they wish.

You can also visit our booth outside. You can visit our website, www.cwaretirees.org.

I would be remiss if I didn't say a big thank you to those locals that support their retirees and especially to those locals that support their chapters financially.

Now, in memory of all our departed retirees everywhere, would you please repeat after me our motto: The RMC--

... Shouts of "The RMC" ...

BROTHER KRAMER: is about--

... Shouts of "is about" ...

BROTHER KRAMER: serious business.

... Shouts of "serious business" ...

BROTHER KRAMER: Thank you very much.

**VICE PRESIDENT MALY:** Thank you, Retired Members Council. Great work. Keep it up. Thank you. (Applause)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** I now call the Resolutions Committee to the platform. As the Committee returns to the platform, we have a special video celebrating 30 years of the Minority Leadership Institute. Can we roll the video please.

... A video was shown on behalf of the Minority Leadership Institute and its goals of equality, opportunity, and leadership, things all organizations should aspire to....

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** The Chair recognizes the Committee.

**DELEGATE KEVIN SHEIL (Local 1103, Chair, Resolutions Committee):** Thank you, Mr. President.

Please turn to Page 2 of the Resolutions and look at Resolution 74A-13-1 entitled "Celebrating the Anniversary of the CWA Minority Institute." I will read the Resolveds of the resolution on Page 2.

... See APPENDIX F for full text of the Resolutions ...

## Resolution 74A-13-1

## Celebrating the 30th Anniversary of the CWA Minority Leadership Institute

Resolved: On this 30th Anniversary of the CWA Minority Leadership Institute, the 74th CWA Convention expresses our deepest gratitude to the pioneers whose foresight and concern led to the development of the CWA Minority Leadership Institute.

Resolved: The CWA Minority Leadership Institute will continue its rich tradition of leadership development so that our Union leaders at all levels are prepared to build a broader movement for justice and fairness for all, in the workplace and in the larger society.

Resolved: All CWA locals shall offer opportunities for CWA Minority Leadership Institute graduates to share their knowledge and expertise with others.

Resolved: Every CWA local union shall commit to foster diversity at all levels of leadership in order to promote racial and gender equity and economic justice.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Thank you. The resolution is before us and, at Mike No. 3, Delegate Andrews.

**DELEGATE WALTER D. ANDREWS (Local 3204, President, CWA National Minority Caucus):** President Cohen, Delegates, Retirees, Alternates: At this point I rise to support the resolution, and I'd like to thank the Committee and the people who submitted this resolution, because it was very instrumental in my career. I can't thank this organization enough. As I look back and remember that Morty Bahr was instrumental in forming this, and I come here today to say happy birthday to MLI.

Thank you Norma Powell, Brooker T. Lester, James Starr, Dennis Serrette, and others who were instrumental in putting this MLI program together. It has been very, very, very helpful to me. I can remember my classmates as if it was yesterday. It was some of the best training that I have ever received as a labor leader in organized labor. And I just come today to say thank you for allowing me to participate in MLI and continue to keep up the good work. God bless you. Thank you. (Applause)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Microphone 3, Delegate Barlow.

**DELEGATE ED BARLOW (Local 3204):** I am a 2012 graduate of the Minority Leadership Institute. I am glad I had the opportunity to attend MLI this past year. It is an excellent program for the future leaders of this union. This program benefits members from all districts by helping them move closer to perfecting their leadership abilities and skills.

I would like to name my new brothers and sisters of your districts that were part of my 2012 MLI class. From Local 81381, President Evelyn Evans; Local 13000, Wynetta Ward; Local 4603, Steward Clarice Collins; Local 6507, President Gerald Murray; Local 7019, Area Vice President Mariano Godoy; Local 9003, Steward Myesha Glover; IUE-CWA Local 84913, President Joe Nguyen; AFA-CWA Local 27019 Council Representative Tonnette Monroe; and TNG-CWA Local 34071, President David Pollard.

I salute all the graduates before me, as I recognize you too to become great leaders of our union. Special thanks to Chris Kennedy and Kate Shaughnessy who put together an excellent program for me and my classmates.

As Executive Vice President of CWA Local 3204, I rise in support of the Minority Leadership resolution. Thank you. (Applause)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** No other delegates have asked to speak. Therefore, the resolution is before you. All those in favor of the resolution, please indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed? It is adopted. Thank you. (Applause)

The Chair recognizes the Committee.

CHAIR SHEIL: Thank you, Mr. President. The Chair recognizes Kim Gallardo.

DELEGATE KIM GALLARDO: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

Please turn to Page 3 of the Resolutions and look at Resolution 74-A-13-2, entitled "Federal Budget Priorities to Invest in Jobs and People."

I will read the Resolveds of the resolution on Page 4.

## Resolution 74A-13-2

#### Federal Budget Priorities to Invest in Jobs and People

Resolved: CWA will educate our members and take action to oppose proposals that would reduce Social Security benefits and raise out-of-pocket Medicare expenses on middle-income recipients.

Resolved: CWA will educate our members and join with our allies to support a federal budget that increases tax revenues on the wealthy and large corporations; cuts military spending by the maximum amount consistent with true security for our people; and adequately funds programs that create jobs, invest in people and a 21st century infrastructure, and protect the social safety net on which millions of the elderly, children, disabled and others depend.

Resolved: CWA will educate our members and join with our allies to support policies that promote jobs, not wars. CWA supports repurposing non-essential military spending to fund programs that rebuild America through the development of new sustainable technologies and 21st century manufacturing, construction of affordable housing, modernization of our nation's physical and social infrastructure, and the deployment of universal high-speed broadband to all Americans.

Mr. President, the Resolutions Committee moves the adoption of Resolution 74A-13-2 entitled "Federal Budget Priorities to Invest in Jobs and People."

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Thank you. Resolution 2 is before us.

At Microphone No. 3, Delegate Vidal.

**DELEGATE ELLEN VIDAL (Local 1088):** Good morning. President Cohen, Executive Board, brothers and sisters: I would like to thank the Committee for putting this before the body. We have all heard and read about the cuts of up to \$42 billion in essential programs here in the United States, the sequester cuts, and the list goes on. Plus these cuts will continue through 2021 without some kind of intervention and with us being a force behind Congress now.

The fact that these federal cuts cost almost a half million dollars in the last year alone is insane. For example, some of these jobs include those on military bases. Thousands are being furloughed who support the very military here to support and protect this country. Isn't that like an oxymoron? Why does our military personnel qualify for food stamps and have less support on bases when they come home? The budget is clearly not going to the soldiers.

And then, just luring the politicians to talk, the President has to throw out proposed Social Security cuts and Medicare co-pay increases when the seniors of this country, who are middle class retirees, are already amongst the hardest hit in this country.

All while this is occurring, the corporations continue to pay their CEO golden parachutes. They continue to say, "Here's too much money for doing a really bad job." Really? Look around, Mr. President and all the politicians. It isn't a budget crisis; it's a jobs crisis. We need jobs here in the United States, and the jobs we have need to be filled by the people of the United States. Our children are graduating from excellent colleges buried in student loan debt. Where are the jobs?

I am a social worker in Ocean County, New Jersey and deal with people day in and day out with no work, homeless, and no health care. The politicians can say "welfare to work" all they want, they can spend money on training and retraining all they want, but when people are done at the end of the day, they just want a job to feed their family.

The economic recovery requires more stimulus. We need a stimulus for us, we the people, and jobs. We must build our infrastructure back up. The income of the top one percent has continued to soar, all while they pay less and less taxes while we pay more.

Why does the government try to reinvent the wheel with each so-called "budget crisis" and "national disaster"? It is time we stand up and move on. Build on what there is here in the United States, not what a corporation deems fit. We have gone back to only having all the news that's fit to print, and that news is coming from corporations that own all of our media outlets.

I encourage us all to please support the resolution for a Federal Budget to invest in jobs and people in this country. Thank you. (Applause and cheers)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Thank you.

At Microphone 3, Delegate Sarnoff.

**DELEGATE STEVE SARNOFF (Local 3179):** Thank you. Good morning, President Cohen, and dais.

I rise to support this good resolution. This is probably one of most timely resolutions that we have. In the news yesterday and today was a small story about an economic study that has been used by many politicians to talk about why we can't have a jobs program, why we must implement austerity, why we must cut, slash, and burn because that's how we are going to grow the economy. It didn't make any sense months ago when the study first was published, but so many people jumped on the bandwagon that everyone began to believe the big lie. Unfortunately, I believe our own President bought into it a little bit.

As we learned Sunday at our Public, HealthCare & Education Workers Sector meeting, there are trillions of dollars in impending infrastructure improvements needed, projects that have been curtailed and postponed because of financial wherewithal. The pressure to do those projects is growing day by day.

Even looking around the area where we are, we can see that the bridges are old and some are in disrepair. The people who want to profit from that are the very people who, because of Citizens United, are priming their pump with millions of dollars of contributions to make sure that our Congress remains gridlocked on this very vital issue. That is what we have to fight.

What we need to do in order to support this resolution is to guarantee that we are all going to go back home and fight to elect the right people in the congressional races of 2014 to finally start turning this around.

The next thing we need to do immediately is push for the reconstitution of the Civilian Conservation Core, which wasn't part of this resolution but would be a vital government-sponsored program involving veterans and job training to give people the skills of the 21st century to rebuild the infrastructure and build lasting projects that can be as good as the ones that were done by my father in the 1930s, and many of your fathers who were in the CCC.

Many of those projects still exist today, and we drive on them, play on them, swim in them, and drink the water from them. That's what we need to do, and this is a good resolution. Please support it. Thank you. (Applause)

#### **PRESIDENT COHEN:** Thank you.

At Microphone 3, Delegate Perez.

**DELEGATE JUDY PEREZ (Local 9400):** I rise in full support of this resolution. As a result of the ineptitude of our U.S. Congress, several weeks ago this country entered sequestration which slashed funding for manufacturing job creation, the education of our children, housing, and slashed in effect every program which helped not only the poor but also the middle class.

I for one am saying, "No more!" We've now learned that those arrogant bastards who think they can run this country are proposing to cut Social Security and increase Medicare co-pays. This country was built and paid for by CWA members, auto workers, miners, steel workers, and many more.

And now the land of the free for the wealthy says, "Screw you, middle class. You are old. We just don't need you anymore. So we will cut your Social Security, and maybe you will become homeless and maybe you won't be able to buy food and you will just starve to death. And if that doesn't work, we are going to increase your Medicare co-pays so you can't afford the medication that keeps you alive."

Everyone in this room, whether you are 21 or 65, will one day be a recipient of Social Security, so we all have a stake in this. We need to make sure that not one dime of our COPE dollars goes to those who are our friends when they need us but forget about us when we need them. (Applause)

Brothers and sisters, we need to stand up, fight hard, because if we don't we will never win. Every Convention we come here, we support these resolutions, we go home and forget about them. You can't win a battle that way. We have to wage a war and make sure we win this battle.

And as my dad used to always say, "We have one thing we can do: Shit or get off the pot." Let's shit. (Applause)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** No other delegates wishing to speak on the motion. Resolution 2 is before you. All those in favor of the resolution, please indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed. It is adopted. (Applause)

The Chair recognizes the Committee.

**CHAIR SHEIL:** Thank you, Mr. President. Please turn to Page 5 of the Resolutions report and look at Resolution 74A-13-3 entitled, "Fully Functioning Local Unions." I will read the Resolveds of the resolution on Page 6.

## Resolution 74A-13-3

## **Fully Functioning Local Unions**

Resolved: All local unions are expected to meet their responsibilities and obligations to be fully functional organizations, as defined by the CWA Constitution. The size of a local does not guarantee its effectiveness.

Resolved: It is no longer enough for local unions to focus only on the representation of our members. To rebuild worker power in this country, we have no other choice as a labor organization in the United States in 2013 but to work together - at all levels of our organization - with other unions and with other progressive organizations to build the movement for democracy and economic justice.

Resolved: CWA local unions must make it a priority to educate and mobilize members to give them a real opportunity to participate in building the movement for democracy and economic justice.

Resolved: The Secretary-Treasurer and the Executive Board will continue to assess all local unions' success in meeting the standards set by the CWA Constitution.

Resolved: The Secretary-Treasurer and the Executive Board will work to support local leaders in their efforts to ensure that all local unions are fully functioning local unions, as described by the CWA Constitution.

Mr. President, the Resolutions Committee moves the adoption of Resolution 74A-13-3 entitled "Fully Functioning Local Unions."

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Thank you. If there's a delegate at Mike 3 wishing to speak, just put up your hand. Unfortunately, I can't quite see you, but go ahead and announce yourself, please.

The mike is on. Mike 3, please announce yourself and where you are from and you have the floor.

**DELEGATE BRIAN RILEY (Local 1060):** Brothers and sisters, I rise to support this resolution. You must have locals that function effectively as the attack on labor is in full force. We must educate and mobilize our members. It is our only option.

I come from a local that is now reduced to a hundred people. We had three locals in the state, and now we have one. I am from a small local. We have about two layoffs every year. I lose Executive Board members, stewards. It happens all the time. There's no reason or excuse for me to not function. I cannot let that be an excuse or a reason to not function fully.

But I'm not just talking about the small locals; I am talking about the big ones, too. You have had many changes in officers, people retired. We need to all function and get out there and fight the fight. We will not win this fight against these employers. As you know, they are primed and ready. It is our only option. It is our only choice.

We are the leaders of this union. We have been elected to serve the people. The people deserve full representation and mobilization. We need to educate our members; we need to stand for them. So I rise to support this important resolution.

It doesn't matter what size you are. There are many small locals in this union that are functioning effectively and efficiently. So I'm not just talking about the small locals. I am speaking about everyone. Thank you. (Applause)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** With no other delegates wishing to speak, the resolution is before us, "Fully Functioning Locals," Resolution 3. All those in favor of the resolution, please indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed. It is adopted.

Committee?

CHAIR SHEIL: Thank you, Mr. President. The Chair recognizes--

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Actually, we are going to play a video first, if that's okay, or would you prefer to read the Resolveds first? Video first, my mistake. Roll the video, please.

. . . A video was shown on Movement Building with union activists conducting rallies, and encouraging members that "50 million people can change America" . . .

CHAIR SHEIL: The Chair recognizes David Hyde.

**DELEGATE DAVID HYDE:** Thank you, Mr. Chair.

Please turn to Page 7 of the Resolutions report and look at Resolution 74A-13-4 entitled "Building a Movement for Real Democracy." I will read the Resolveds of the resolution on Page 8.

## Resolution 74A-13-4

## **Building a Movement for Real Democracy**

Resolved: CWA will continue to educate members on how the barriers to democracy block progress on our core issues of good jobs, health care, retirement security and bargaining rights.

Resolved: CWA, with convening partners NAACP, Greenpeace, Sierra Club and 50 other organizations, will continue to expand the Democracy Initiative that is taking on the one percent and these barriers to democracy.

Resolved: CWA members, locals, officers and staff pledge to work in our communities to build effective organizations that will stand up to the one percent and fight for universal voting rights, democratic Senate rules, and getting big money out of politics. We will find common ground with our allies and move those issues forward.

Mr. President, the Resolutions Committee moves the adoption of Resolution 74A-13-4 entitled "Building a Movement for Real Democracy."

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Thank you. The resolution is before us. At Microphone No. 3, I recognize Delegate Gay.

**DELEGATE RON GAY (Local 4300):** Thank you, President Cohen, and good morning delegates. I just wanted to talk for a moment in support of Resolution 74A-13-4, "Building a Movement for Real Democracy."

Fortunately or unfortunately, many of my colleagues from Ohio and across the Midwest have had the occasion to need to form coalitions to defeat certain legislation and on other issues in Ohio.

A couple years ago, as I'm sure you all remember from a previous Convention, the Ohio legislature voted to decimate public sector bargaining, and CWA and many allies across the state got together and formed a group called "We Are Ohio." It was labor unions, it was faith-based organizations, and just people that generally care about the middle class.

After about a year and a half of work, many hearings, many demonstrations, 20,000 people in front of State House chanting while they were voting on a bill to basically eliminate all public sector bargaining, we collected signatures, put it on the ballot, and people of Ohio voted to keep public sector bargaining and told the legislature basically go to heck. (Applause) Thank you.

On a personal note, it was really cool to be involved with that. We kicked their ass. It was awesome.

However, that wasn't the end of it. The very conservative Republican legislature has really been attacking us in other ways also. Most recently they put together a state budget that basically destroys public services across our communities. We had a budget deficit and the Governor's solution to cutting that was to eliminate funding to local governments. That lays off police officers and firefighters and social workers, many of whom I represent.

One of the things that we have used to fight back on all of our state budget battles is a group called "Stand Up for Ohio," which was founded by our former District 4 Vice President Seth Rosen and continues today. Next week and the following week, we are going to have a bus tour across the state to draw attention to what they are doing to our communities-- slashing services, cutting taxes, which would be good if we didn't cut services in the meantime.

So the "Stand Up for Ohio" bus, with CWA members and members from other organizations, is going to be traveling across the state to educate the public on what they are doing to us, and to just don't let them get away with it. We have to keep it in the forefront.

That "Stand Up for Ohio" thing is going to continue on for many years. I think it's a good group of people. Some of the folks you saw in that video, Ebony Martin and Anita Andrews, I have worked with for years. They are good, and they are going to keep this fight going on "Stand Up for Ohio."

One more sample of how movement building is working, we got word last year that many of the major telecom employers in Ohio were going to push forth another deregulation bill. We looked at it and said, "How are we going to stop this?" We have a super majority of Republicans in both the Ohio House and the Ohio Senate. We have a Republican Governor, all of whom are hugely in favor of deregulation.

We talked about it with a bunch of folks. There were many folks who said, "We want to do something." We said, "Well, let's do something. Who else is against this?" The AARP was against it, as we found out, and guess who votes in America? Seniors vote. So we partnered with AARP, the Ohio Consumers Council, a couple other unions. We kind of just kept it going, telling people how bad it was.

We met with all the Republicans on the Committee, and they weren't comfortable with this whole deregulation thing either. But with that group, we were able to stop the deregulation bill, and AT&T basically threw up their hands and pulled it because they were tired of looking like fools trying to push it forward. (Applause)

I'm going to be honest, I didn't think we would get it done. But we did with the coalition. We wouldn't have done it on our own. These people weren't going to listen to just the CWA.

## **PRESIDENT COHEN:** One minute.

**DELEGATE GAY:** But they listened to the coalition, a broad coalition-- retirees, young folks like Thomas Sinclair and myself who went and talked to legislators. I guess what I'm trying to say with these examples is, this stuff works. Thank you. (Applause)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Microphone 3, Delegate Simpson.

**DELEGATE WILLARD "CHUCK" SIMPSON (Local 2204):** I am a proud card-carrying member of the Sierra Club. I rise to speak for this motion, and I would like to thank the Executive Board of CWA and Ken Perez for their forethought to put together CWA and Sierra Club in Virginia to learn from each other.

We have had two opportunities to meet for two-day trainings where we had the opportunity to see that CWA and Sierra Club had loads and loads of similar battles and fights and issues. Those who were out for CWA to put us on the chopping block were doing the same thing to our fellow and friendly environmentalists.

Working together, they worked with us to help fight deregulation of Verizon telephone service in Virginia. They lobbied with us and lobbied on their own Lobby Day to take up our issues along with theirs. We have worked on their behalf to oppose uranium mining in Virginia as well. So when we lobbied, we lobbied together and we lobbied separately on our own Lobby Days for their issues as well as ours.

We also had the opportunity, after building this coalition, to get together in Roanoke, Virginia, in the mountains of the southwest, to stand for two hours in front of Senator Mark Warner's office to ask him to stand in opposition against the cuts to Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid.

The folks who joined us at that rally were awe-inspiring. Based on this coalition that we built, CWA and Sierra Club reached out to members of AARP. The NAACP was there as well. And we had help from Occupy Roanoke and Occupy Virginia who came to speak on behalf of those people who would not be able to survive and have a decent living without the benefits of Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid.

One of the greatest things for me in building this coalition was that we had the opportunity to fund and run the first Labor Day parade that has existed in the mountains of Southwest Virginia in over 70 years. (Applause)

In doing that, our friends from the Sierra Club locally in Roanoke and the members of Occupy all came to this parade, and I couldn't have been prouder to have those folks standing behind me because they were all carrying signs that said, "Thank you, organized labor, for giving us the 40-hour work week. Thank you, organized labor, for giving us weekends. Thank you, organized labor, for taking care of us and making sure that we all have a decent living together." These folks get it. A rising tide does lift all boats.

I just want to say in closing that it is movement building, and I praise the Executive Board again and President Cohen for having the foresight to make this happen. But it's also about friendships; it's about relationships; it's about partnerships. We grow, we fight, we lobby, we rally, we mobilize. We do this together.

But most of all, we must build and expand our movement together because we all are here to make this work, to make this flourish, and, by God, if we don't do it together, we will surely drop dead alone. Thank you for your time. (Applause)

## PRESIDENT COHEN: Thank you.

No other delegates wishing to speak, Resolution 4 is before you on movement building. All those supporting the resolution, please indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed. It is adopted. Thank you. (Applause)

Before I recognize the Committee, I just want to read an announcement. You just heard two great

stories, Ohio and Virginia. These are not easy places to do this work. And those brothers are in the lead, not just in support.

I want to remind everyone to stop by the Share Your Stories booth-- and you just heard two stories-- right outside the convention hall. Record your story of why you are building our movement. In case you need extra encouragement, when you record your story, you will be entered to win an iPad. The drawing for the winner will be held at the end of the lunch break, so stop by before then.

The Chair recognizes the Committee.

CHAIR SHEIL: Thank you, Mr. President.

The Chair recognizes Judy Lugo.

**DELEGATE JUDY LUGO:** Thank you, Chair.

Please turn to page 9 of the resolutions report and look at Resolution 74A-13-5 entitled "Protect Workers' Rights, the NLRB, and Reform Senate Rules." I will read the Resolveds of the resolution on Page 10.

# Resolution 74A-13-5

## Protect Workers' Rights, the NLRB, and Reform Senate Rules

Resolved: Every CWA local, working with others in the Labor Movement and our allies, will join in a campaign of mobilization, demonstrations, and direct action to demand that the Senate confirm a full package of NLRB nominees.

Resolved: Every CWA local will urge members to "Text NLRB to 69866" in order to build a large rapid response network as part of this and other campaigns.

Resolved: CWA will join with other partners to restore our democracy and change Senate Rules to permit debate and votes on nominations made by the President and eliminate the hostage-taking which undermines government.

Mr. President, the Resolutions Committee moves the adoption of Resolution 74A-13-5 entitled "Protect Workers' Rights, the NLRB, and Reform State Senate Rules."

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Thank you. I recognize at Microphone 3, Delegate Cappo.

**DELEGATE THOMAS CAPPO (NABET-CWA Local 51011, New York):** More than ten years ago, 250 employees of CNN in New York and Washington, our members at Local 51011 and 52031, lost their union, and 110 of those members lost their jobs in a greedy attempt by CNN to destroy us.

In 2008 the NLRB ruled in favor of our members and granted the largest back-pay ruling for workers in NLRB history, \$300 million-- \$1 million per worker. But despite that victory and because of the now dysfunctional NLRB, our members are still awaiting a decision on the appeal and essentially have no path to justice.

The faces shown here in this hall today are real victims-- workers whose jobs were taken from them illegally, members whose right to a union was denied. Two hundred and fifty of our members are still awaiting justice after ten years. A dozen of those people have died waiting, and there is no end in sight.

Everyone here must commit themselves to supporting this resolution and join in on a campaign of mobilization at the NLRB, in the halls of Congress, and at the White House until justice is served for our members, for our union, and for this country. Thank you. (Applause)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Microphone 3, Delegate Calabrese.

**DELEGATE CHRIS CALABRESE (Local 1109):** Good morning, brothers and sisters. I rise in support of this resolution. Yesterday you met a couple of my new members who work at CableVision. The truth is they are really not that new anymore. They voted to join CWA in January of 2012, 15 months ago. They won an NLRB-supervised election by a vote of 186 "yes" votes to 80 "no" votes, despite a vicious campaign of fear and intimidation by CableVision.

Since that time, we have sat down to bargain with CableVision 28 times in over 300 hours, but we are no closer to a contract today than we were when we started. Negotiating first contracts are complicated, but they are not that complicated.

CableVision was and is bargaining in bad faith with no intention of coming to an agreement. Their goal is to stretch these negotiations out until the workers lose faith in the union and hopefully vote to decertify CWA.

On January 30th of this year, one year after they voted to join CWA, CableVision decided to up the ante in a premeditated act of corporate terror. When 22 workers-- all of them shop stewards or union activists-- tried to take advantage of CableVision's open door policy and speak with management about the slow pace of bargaining, the company permanently replaced them, making the boldest claim that they were on strike.

Minutes afterwards, CableVision had the police escort these workers off the property. They sent out a memo to the rest of their workers minutes later. The memo read like this: "It has now been a year since you voted to join the union. We just wanted to let you know that you are now eligible to have a decertification election. It is illegal for us to help you decertify the union, but if you call this number below, they can help you."

Nobody can accuse CableVision of being subtle. The message was sent to the rest of the workers: "Get rid of this union or the same will happen to you."

So the question becomes: Why do CableVision and other companies feel so comfortable to blatantly violate the law? There's a simple answer: Without a functioning Labor Board, there is no enforcement of the law.

In January and February we filed charges at the NLRB for bad-faith bargaining, the illegal firing of 22 workers, and illegal surveillance of the workers. Three weeks ago, Region 29 issued complaints on all three of our charges. A complaint is akin to an indictment. It validates what we have been saying all along, but validation can only turn to justice with a functioning Labor Board.

At some point there will be a hearing in front of an administrative law judge who will decide this case. Unfortunately, the Noel Canning decision and the Republicans' decision to confirm nominations made by President Obama make it all too easy for CableVision to continue to engage in a cat and mouse game.

As it stands now, CableVision could go to a regional hearing and, even if they lose the case, they could then appeal it knowing full well that without a functioning Board, it will sit in purgatory. This delay tactic could last for years, and all along the workers suffer and, eventually, the workers lose faith in their union and their democracy and their government.

We were able to get all 22 workers hired back, but it wasn't due to the NLRB or any government, law or agency. (Applause) We did it by partnering with our allies and putting pressure on CableVision from every angle we possibly could. We are proud we got all those workers their jobs back, but for Jerome Thompson-- who is in the audience today-- and 21 other workers, justice has not been served, and it won't be served until they receive back pay for the time they were illegally locked out and the record is set straight by the NLRB. So we have to get the NLRB functioning again.

## **PRESIDENT COHEN:** One minute.

**DELEGATE CAPPO:** We must do everything we can to make sure the Senate confirms all five nominees. And if they are blocked by a filibuster, the Senate must change its rules to preserve the NLRB.

On May 16th the Senate Labor Committee will hold a hearing on the nominations. On May 23rd the Senate Health Committee will vote on the nominations. Between May 27th and May 31st, all locals should partner with our allies, visit our Senators while they are home on recess, and demand a fully functioning Board. Thank you. (Applause)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** No other speakers on that resolution. The resolution is before you, Resolution 5, "NLRB and Reform Senate Rules." All those in favor of the resolution, please indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed. It is adopted. (Applause)

The Chair recognizes the Committee.

CHAIR SHEIL: Thank you, Mr. President.

On behalf of the Committee, we are going to ask everyone in the audience, on behalf of those workers and all workers, to please take out your cell phones and text NLRB to 69866.

The Chair recognizes Penny Franklin.

# DELEGATE PENNY FRANKLIN: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

Please turn to Page 11 of the Resolutions report and look at Resolution 74A-13-6 entitled "Immigration Reform: The Time Is Now."

## Resolution 74A-13-6

## Immigration Reform: The Time is Now

Resolved: CWA will continue to educate members about the adverse effects the current broken immigration system has on all working people and on the need for real reform that ensures that all workers are protected against exploitation and have full and equal protection under the law.

Resolved: CWA will work with allies who agree that comprehensive immigration reform must happen now. We know that a movement of 50 million Americans can bring about real change and restore economic and social democracy. CWA, at every level, will join forces with other unions, faith groups, civil rights and community organizations, Jobs with Justice, students and others to make our voices heard.

Resolved: CWA, working through our Legislative-Political Action Teams and on every level of our union, will make sure that state, local and federal legislators and elected officials know that we demand a path to citizenship for 11 million immigrants, many of whom were brought to the U.S. at a young age by their parents. These 11 million immigrants work hard, love this country, and want to be full participants in

this democracy. Together, we will build a movement for change.

Mr. President, the Resolutions Committee moves the adoption of Resolution 74A-13-6 entitled "Immigration Reform: The Time Is Now."

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Thank you. Resolution 6 is before us. There is a delegate at the Motions mike, Mike 1, Delegate Smith. Hi, Tom.

**DELEGATE TOM SMITH (Local 3865):** Committee Members, Delegates, Brother Cohen: I rise to offer what I hope will be seen as a friendly amendment. I move that Line 21 of the resolution be amended adding, quote, "consistent with respect for human rights," to the present language.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Just pause for a minute before we-- would you like to speak on it first, and then I will consult the Committee about the friendly nature of it.

#### DELEGATE SMITH: Yes, sir.

I offer this amendment with utmost respect for the Committee, the long hours of work you have done for the delegates here, and out of the deepest sense of solidarity with the working class here in this country, in Canada, Puerto Rico, and across the world.

I offer this amendment because I think this language will be more consistent with the resolution--I mean, the reports from the Committee on Equity we passed yesterday, and because as trade unionists our job is to speak up for workers-- the entire class of workers, regardless of their status or national origin.

Further militarization of our borders done with no regard for human rights will not help workers achieve justice. In Tennessee we are deeply committed to movement building. I was very happy when I arrived and saw that picture up there that's actually from a rally in Tennessee. With our movement building partners I feel that, with this added language, this resolution and the work we will go home and do will bring us closer with immigrants' rights activists around the country and across the world. Thank you.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Okay. Thank you, Tom. I will go consult with the Committee.

I would point out to the delegates, this is in the text, not the Resolveds, but I just asked the Parliamentarian and it is in order. We don't normally-- you are not really voting on all the text that's here. The ruling is that it is in order.

... Brief pause ...

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** They are okay with it. So, again, it's on Line 21 in the text, not the Resolved clause, and it would add "secure all of our nation's borders consistent with respect for human rights." So that's now before you. It's accepted by the Committee.

With that in mind, we go to Microphone 3, Delegate Ramirez.

**DELEGATE PHILLIP RAMIREZ (Local 6229):** Brothers and sisters, I rise in support of this resolution. For over 400 years, people have been emigrating to this country to escape religious persecution. They have been emigrating to escape the oppression of tyrannical governments. They have been emigrating to work, emigrating to build a new and better way of life for themselves and their families.

We are predominantly a country of immigrants. Right now there are more than 11 million undocumented citizens, 7 million of which are workers-- workers and their families who are being

exploited by greedy companies and greedy employers. Greedy companies and greedy employers are subjecting them to unfair and archaic work rules. They are discriminating against them based on race, gender, and sexual orientation.

These are the people who march with us hand-in-hand in the streets on various issues and political actions. They love this country, and they want to be Americans. They want to be Americans and live the American Dream, just like everyone in this room.

Does this sound familiar? Brothers and sisters, it should. At CWA, we believe in an honest day's work for an honest day's pay. At CWA, we believe in the fair treatment and application of the work rules. At CWA, we believe in the equitable treatment of people. At CWA, we believe in human rights. At CWA, we do not discriminate based on race, gender, or sexual orientation. At CWA, we believe in helping those who cannot help themselves. At CWA, we believe in fighting for the American Dream.

The time is now to tell Washington to fix this problem through reformation of the laws. Lawmakers need to look in the mirror, realize and understand that they too are immigrants. Thank you. (Applause)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** At Microphone No. 1, Delegate Kalmijn.

**DELEGATE JELGER KALMIJN (Local 9119):** I make a motion to strike the fifth bullet which reads, "Secure all of our nation's borders" with the language that was accepted from the amendment after that.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Is there a second?

... The motion was duly seconded from the floor ...

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** You can speak on your motion.

**DELEGATE KALMIJN:** Thank you, Committee, for putting together this resolution. It speaks volumes to the progress we have made. I think it's important that we make one change to this resolution that accepts reality.

I live in Chula Vista. I live within sight of the border. I live right at the border. In my local, we have members who can't afford to live in the United States and have to cross the border every day. They are U.S. citizens living in Mexico. And when I turn on the radio driving to work, it says "Border wait - two hours." That's the average. They have to cross the border every single day to get to work and do it for two hours.

At the border-- the last five years that the Berlin Wall existed, more people have died on the wall we've built between us and Mexico than died at the Berlin Wall. I have to say that the idea of securing our borders by building a wall with human rights in mind is an oxymoron. It's like saying build the Berlin Wall with human rights in mind. You can't do it. It doesn't do any of the things we want, and does a lot of things we don't want.

It's not going to stop terrorists. There has never been a terrorist stopped at the border between Tijuana and San Diego. It doesn't stop immigration. People keep coming across the border. All it does is terrorize people who are coming here looking for an honest day's work.

We all heard the moving story yesterday of the brother who crossed the border with his mom and almost died for lack of water. That's what this does.

When we talk about securing our border, it doesn't do any of the things it says it does. All it does is terrorizes people coming here looking for work. People die at this border. That's the code word for

"secure our borders," but it ends up with working people suffering.

Not only that, but when I ride my bike along the border, I see cars, and half the cars on the road are ICE cars. We are spending so much money on ICE cars that there's not enough teachers in my kids' schools. We are spending huge amounts of money on this. This is an industry now that is meant to terrorize working people who are trying to cross the border. It doesn't stop terrorism, it doesn't stop immigration, and it causes great harm.

I really encourage all the delegates to strike the words "Secure all of our nation's borders." We need to stop agreeing to concessions up front on this. Somebody else is going to put this in here, but we should not be standing up for what happens at our borders. Some right-winger is going to say, "Yeah, we have to secure our borders" and somebody else along the way is going to say, "That's a concession we have to agree to get what we want."

Let them do that. Don't make it part of our principles that we have terrorization at the borders when we're the ones causing the terror where people have to cross the border, hoping they will find some water that some sister or some good Samaritan has left there or not, and end up dying in the desert because we have militarized the border so much that they have no humane way to cross the border, or my members end up showing up late to work because the border wait is two hours long, and they can't afford to live here because their pay is not good enough.

The solution for immigration is not having trade agreements that destroy industry in Mexico, so that people can have decent jobs in Mexico and they don't have to come here. (Applause) People don't come here because they want to leave their country. They love their country. They come here because they are impoverished. To secure our borders is terrorizing people and it's not a solution to what we know is the real problem-- real jobs in the U.S., real jobs in Mexico, and human rights for all of us.

I hope that the delegates will support removing this as one of our principles. Let this be somebody else's principle, but it's not our principle. Securing our border this way, by militarizing it, is an oxymoron and the sentence needs to go. Thank you so very much, delegates. (Applause)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** No one wishes to speak on that amendment, so that amendment is before you. Not the resolution, but the amendment. The amendment, again, would strike Line 21, which now reads, "Secure all of our nation's borders" to be consistent with respect for human rights.

All those in favor of removing that line, please indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed?

We will have to do it again. I would like everybody to sit down. It's too hard to judge from up here. I'm sorry about that. Please take your seats.

Okay. All those in favor of the amendment to strike Line 21, which now reads, "Secure all of our nation's borders" to be consistent with respect for human rights. All those in favor of striking that line, please indicate by raising your hands. Down hands. Opposed. It is struck. (Applause)

Microphone 3, Delegate Castaneda.

## DELEGATE PAUL CASTANEDA (Local 7019): Thanks, President Cohen.

Brothers and sisters, I rise in support of the resolution on "Immigration Reform" because it's time for CWA to take a stand and be a leader on comprehensive immigration reform.

I understand better than anyone that this may be a divisive issue within our locals, but this is the right thing to do. Sometimes as leaders we have a choice of doing the right thing or not doing something

because it may be controversial.

In 2011, I cofounded "Citizens for a Better Arizona," and with the support of the CWA Arizona State Council, other unions, and political allies, recalled the author of SB-1070, Russell Pierce, because enforcing all these policies like SB-1070 doesn't work. I believe we should always choose to do the right thing and work to educate our members why it is the right thing to do even if it is controversial.

Comprehensive immigration reform is about the economy; it's about workers' rights. But more importantly, it's about human rights. No one should have to risk their lives or the lives of their families for simply wanting to provide a better life for their family. But with the broken immigration system, just as you heard from Daniel yesterday, that's exactly what's happening every day.

We need a path to citizenship for the 11 million undocumented workers that are already here, but also a way for low-skilled workers-- not just high-skilled workers-- to come to the U.S. so they don't have to live in the shadows and be afraid of going to work, because they may not get paid, or their employer may call to have them deported at the end of the day.

And let's not forget about the dreamers who are brought here at no fault of their own by their parents. We should demand there is no waiting period for someone that has graduated from college or served in our military protecting the United States.

Most of these kids have no memory of ever living in another country. Some grew up not even knowing they weren't U.S. citizens and only found out while applying for college.

Brothers and sisters, let's not forget this country was built by immigrants. I am asking you to support the resolution on Immigration Reform. Thank you. (Applause)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Microphone 1, Delegate Brown.

**DELEGATE ALEX BROWN (Local 81201):** Hello. Thank you, brothers and sisters, and thank you, President Cohen. I rise to make what I consider a friendly amendment. I represent manufacturing workers. That's GE workers. And yesterday CWA took a stand on the TPP trade agreement, and we have been mobilizing our members and pursuing alliances to combat it.

It's critical that we understand the links between the destructive trade agreements and immigration reform. Whereas immigration to the United States in recent decades has been driven by economic and trade policies that impoverish countries of the global south, and increase inequality and exploitation of workers in the U.S., I would like to offer this amendment, an additional Resolved:

RESOLVED, that immigration reform be combined with a renewed effort to revise international trade and investment agreements like the TPP to address the base causes of large scale immigration.

When we, as a manufacturing local--

PRESIDENT COHEN: Just one second. Is that the actual language?

**DELEGATE BROWN:** That's the language which I gave them.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** The Committee has that language. While they are looking at it, you can speak on it.

**DELEGATE BROWN:** On my reason? Okay.

When we bargain against GE, they have more workers outside the U.S. than work here. They

have moved them to low-wage countries and it undermines workers here, making it harder to win better pensions or hang on to our pensions, health care for members and retirees and our wages, and they are making huge profits.

We have met GE workers from Mexico who tell us how NAFTA impoverished their country. It has pushed agricultural workers and peasants off the land, and they have been driven across the border for work as a way to support their families. The competition for U.S. corn did that.

It hurts U.S. workers when immigrants in our community are exploited. Like in the Lynn area where Cutillo welders were denied \$140,000 in wages, and when they complained about it to the Ironworkers local, they were fired. So we must stand with immigrant workers and link their struggles with the fight against bad trade agreements that impoverish their countries to our work here. Thank you.

PRESIDENT COHEN: Thank you, Alex. I will confer with the Committee. One minute.

... Brief pause ...

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** The Committee accepts it. The Chair will read it.

**CHAIR SHEIL:** RESOLVED, that immigration reform must be combined with a new effort to revise international trade and investment agreements, like TPP, to address the base causes of large scale immigration.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** So that's now in the main motion. And on the main motion at Microphone 3, Delegate Carrillo.

**DELEGATE MIGUEL CARRILLO (Local 6110):** Good morning, sisters and brothers. I am from Laredo, Texas, right on the border with Mexico. I rise in support of this resolution.

It is time to give 11 million undocumented in this country a path to citizenship. It is time to get the 11 million out of the shadows. It is time to get the 11 million covered under labor laws like every other worker in the United States. It's time to get the 11 million organized into unions.

It's time to sign up the 11 million, once they are citizens, to vote and march and fight back with us, because there is no question that the 11 million will join the 99 percent, and we need to join all of these 11 million to our movement.

The time is now, and it's going on really fast, so we need to act on it. Thank you. (Applause)

## **PRESIDENT COHEN:** No other speakers.

We are now voting on the main motion as amended. All those in favor of the motion, please indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed? It is adopted. (Applause)

At Microphone 1-- this is hard for me to read, and I can't quite see your face there, brother, but Delegate Cataline.

**DELEGATE JOHN CATALINE (Local 7777):** After the poignant report from the Human Rights Committee about our sister Bella from AT&T, we are moved to introduce the following resolution:

## EQUAL ACCESS TO HEALTH CARE COVERAGE

CWA opposes all forms of discrimination, including discrimination on the basis of gender identity; and

Gender nonconforming people have great difficulty securing affordable, comprehensive health care; and

Many transgendered people are denied health insurance when they disclose their transgender status or transition-related medical history to a potential insurer; and

Most health insurance policies are specifically excluding gender-related care and services; and

Denial or inaccessibility of health care has lifelong effects on people's ability to learn, work, and care for themselves mentally and physically; and

Currently many private and public sector employers and several international unions currently provide transgender-inclusive health coverage; and

CWA believes that all union members and staff should have access to affordable comprehensive quality health care; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that CWA supports public and private transgender-inclusive health insurance coverage; and be it further

RESOLVED, that CWA opposes exclusions of coverage for transgender individuals; and be it further

RESOLVED, that CWA endorses and supports efforts to remove health insurance exclusions that prevent transgender people from accessing medically necessary care and to ensure that quality health care coverage is available to everyone, including transgender people. (Applause)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** The resolution is before us.

... The motion was duly seconded from the floor ...

PRESIDENT COHEN: It's seconded. You may speak on it.

**DELEGATE CATALINE:** Sisters and brothers, on the back of our Constitution book it says, "CWA - Leading The Way." We need to lead the way by including everyone, not discriminating against anyone. Those who are not included are inherently discriminated against. It's time for our sisters and brothers in the transgender community to finally be included, to be allowed to get the health coverage that they not only need but deserve.

This is not an LGBT issue; this is a human rights issue. (Applause) All of us fight every day to be inclusive. Let's fight now to actually include everyone. Thank you. (Applause)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Microphone 3, Delegate Skeen.

**DELEGATE RICHARD SKEEN (Local 4320):** I am a proud member of the LGBT community and Pride at Work. Yes, brothers and sisters, we come in all shapes and sizes. Many of my brothers and sisters do not know I am gay, but you already know the most important thing about me. I am a union man. (Applause)

To you I say, it wasn't the lack of trust in you that kept me from talking about it, but rather a feeling from my past, from some of my brothers and sisters that came before me and, most importantly, some of the people that helped shape who I am.

One of my former stewards, Mike Brinkley, once talked to me and he said, "You know, I don't have a problem with someone who is gay. I just don't want to know about it." And I understood at the time what he was saying. Some people don't like to discuss sex or sexuality in the workplace. But the issue has come to a different time and different place.

Right now we stand at a change in times. Many of us have had to come to terms with their own relatives. Some of us, our brothers and sisters are gay, our nieces and nephews are gay. But one of the most difficult things to discuss amongst a lot of folks is the transgender community.

We are looking at a human rights issue. I believe that health care is a human right. I believe that we are facing another important issue. Many of our brothers and sisters out there are struggling. They don't have the family and they don't have the community. The union has been our family and our community for many of us.

I rise today to support my brothers and sisters. And I ask that this Convention do the same and help to provide the family and the community that we all need, and support the issue of health care as a human right for all of us, including our transgender brothers and sisters. Thank you. (Applause)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Microphone 3, Delegate Kiino.

**DELEGATE STANLEY KIINO (Local 29011):** As former Co-President of Pride at Work, I rise in support of this resolution and the right to be who we are as individuals and as workers. We deserve the benefits and protections of this great union.

A seasoned CWA leader advised me, "Do not underestimate CWA's ability to change." The inalienable right to the pursuit of happiness-- a concept so American, a concept so CWA. I urge your support of this resolution. Thank you, brothers and sisters. (Applause)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** No other delegate wishes to speak. We are voting on the resolution that's now before us. All those in favor of the resolution, please indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed. It is adopted. (Applause)

At Microphone 1, Delegate Santora.

**DELEGATE T SANTORA (Local 9003):** Thank you, Larry. Thank you, delegates. I would like to move the following resolution entitled:

# **REGIONAL TELECOM BARGAINING COUNCILS**

With the final regulatory approval of SBC's acquisition of AT&T in 2005, the new AT&T has become the nation's largest unionized employer. The consolidation of the former SBC (Southwestern Bell) with AT&T Corp., Ameritech, Pacific Telesis, Snet, BellSouth, and Cingular Wireless to form the current AT&T, Inc. created a behemoth with global reach.

Company executives have since developed and implemented plans to consolidate authority and control over its bargaining with CWA and other unions representing its employers. CWA has struggled to respond to the increased leverage of this corporate giant at our bargaining tables, in the grievance process, and in the political arena.

Verizon has been operating with similar destructive efficiency, especially with its former GTE bargaining units. Consolidations and acquisitions at Century Link and Frontier have resulted in these companies becoming major employers of our membership and powerful adversaries at the multiple bargaining tables we share with them across the country.

CWA locals and bargaining unit leaders must take advantage of every opportunity to build our collective power and develop cohesive strategies to provide our members employed by these companies and their various subsidiaries with the best representation possible. As outlined in the CWA Constitution, bargaining councils may be established for just such a purpose.

The Executive Board's proposal to this Convention to amend the CWA Constitution to establish National Bargaining Councils for telecommunications employers that cross District or Sector lines is a welcome step toward greater bargaining coordination at a national level. The programs and agendas of these national councils will be further enhanced if implemented and supported by regional Bargaining Councils established for each telecom bargaining unit.

Resolved, that this 74th CWA Convention recommends that the Executive Board establish Regional Bargaining Councils where none exist today.

I so move.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** You can speak-- is it seconded? You have heard the motion. Is there a second from the floor?

... The motion was duly seconded from the floor ...

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** You may speak on your motion.

**DELEGATE SANTORA:** Thank you, Larry.

At the outset, I want to just say what a proud day it is, both yesterday and today. The level of debate and civility was phenomenal, and I appreciate it, and I appreciate your leadership during the Convention, Larry.

Yesterday afternoon at our District 9 meeting, we attempted to establish a Bargaining Council for our large telecom units in Verizon and in AT&T, and there was unanimous support for both. However, the Constitution says we can only do that by the Convention or by the Executive Board.

We also found out on Saturday that, much to our surprise, many districts and regional companies and representatives at those companies believed that they had a Bargaining Council when, in fact, they were bargaining unit meetings that were called. It was a simple error, but it's something we would like to correct.

With the establishment of the National Bargaining Council yesterday, what a great opportunity to put it all together by establishing Regional Bargaining Councils that can work hand in hand with the National Bargaining Council. And for those reasons, I ask you and our delegates here to adopt the proposal and the resolution before you. Thank you very much. (Applause)

## **PRESIDENT COHEN:** Thank you.

Microphone 3, Delegate Blackburn.

**DELEGATE DAVID BLACKBURN (Local 7050):** I really hadn't planned on speaking for this, but I look over to my right and, before the resolution has even been read, I see a line of people opposing something they don't even know what they are opposing. (Applause and cheers)

I thought that we could have dialogue around issues and then we vote and then we move forward. Apparently, on this issue, that's not so. And what a shame for all of us that that's the way this is. How are we supposed to move forward? How are we supposed to be unified when people stand up to oppose something, and they don't even know what the hell they are talking about. Shame on us for not being able to get together.

... Cries of "Boooo" ...

**DELEGATE BLACKBURN:** Thank you for making my point. That's all I have to say.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** No one else has asked to speak. I'm going to ask the delegates to sit down and then we will call the question.

The resolution is before us called "Regional Telecom Bargaining Councils." I will read the resolved since you don't have it: To recommend that the Executive Board establish Regional Bargaining Councils for telecom units. That's what I have here. Is that correct or not correct?

All those in favor of the resolution, please indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed. It is defeated. (Applause and cheers)

I thank the Resolutions Committee for their service and their work. Thank you. (Applause)

We are now adjourned until 1:30. Please be in your seats by-- okay, we have announcements. My mistake. They will be short. My mistake, sorry.

**SECRETARY-TREASURER HILL:** First and most importantly, there is a rally today, starting here, now. It will be meeting outside the doors. Don't block the doors. For those who are going to participate, please wait outside the doors and we will have local people that will direct you. We will be going to two AT&T locations that are threatening to be closed. I appreciate your support.

There will also be two different runoff elections, one in District 3 for the Defense Fund Oversight Committee Alternate. That will occur during the lunch break in Room 310. The candidates are Keith Patterson and Sheila Bella. There is also a runoff election in District 7 for the Trial Panel Member in Room 315-316, and the candidates are Dan Jerde and Stan Wyle.

Also, at the end of the lunch break, as you enter the hall, you will see on the video screens an animated video about the public sector. It's eight minutes and simply describes our current fiscal crisis and its causes and impact on the public sector. In order to see the full video, please be back in your seat eight minutes before the Convention recommences.

... Further raffle announcements ...

## **SECRETARY-TREASURER HILL:** Thank you.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Okay. We are adjourned until 1:30. At 1:30 will be the Memorial Service, so please be in your seats at 1:30. Thank you.

... Thereupon, the Convention recessed at 11:55 a.m. ...

# TUESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The Convention reconvened at 1:30 p.m., President Cohen presiding.

... Prior to reconvening, a video about the importance of coalition building was shown ....

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Delegates, please be seated. Thank you. We had a power problem, but it's now solved. Just think if we solved all our problems in a minute like that.

Please be seated. The Memorial Service will begin momentarily. We need everybody in their seats.

Sergeants-at-Arms, over here on the right side, I need delegates in their seats. It's time for the Memorial Service.

As we meet here in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, for the 74th Convention of the Communications Workers of America, we take time to honor our colleagues who are no longer with us and remember their contributions to building our union.

. . . A Memorial video was shown of CWA's fallen colleagues, narrated by Secretary-Treasurer Annie Hill, as follows: . . .

**SECRETARY-TREASURER ANNIE HILL:** Donald Arnold, CWA Representative, District 7 - August 2011.

Billy Austin, Printing Sector and CWA Representative District 7 - November 2012.

George Bair, CWA Representative Oklahoma City - January 2012.

Walter Collins, CWA Representative Indianapolis, District 1 and District 3, and President of the Staff Union - April 2012.

Janet David, TNG-CWA Representative - March 2012.

Glen Hanson, CWA Representative, Michigan and Illinois - December 2011.

Don Jernigan, NABET-CWA Representative - January 2013.

Luis Montanez, Jr., TNG-CWA Representative - July 2011.

Frances Moran, CWA Representative, District 3 - January 2013.

Martha Moudy, CWA Representative District 3, February 2013.

Mary O'Hara, CWA Representative, Pennsylvania, and Administrative Assistant to the Vice President - October 2011.

Charlotte Posey, CWA Director for Wyoming, Idaho and Montana - October 2011.

George Powell, CWA Representative, District 3 - June 2012.

Ross Stanley Powell, CWA Representative CWA Districts 1 and 3 - December 2012.

M. Don Sanchez, CWA Representative and Director for New York & New Jersey - December 2011.

Charles Strong, CWA Representative California - August 2012.

Beatrice Williams, CWA Representative District 1 and Communications and Technologies - June 2012.

John Zawackis, CWA Representative Florida and Georgia - September 2012.

VICE PRESIDENT IUE-CWA JIM CLARK: <u>Gloria Johnson</u>, CWA's Women's Activities Coordinator and Founder of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, was a staunch defender of women's and civil rights. At CLUW, she served as President from 1993 to 2004 and Secretary-Treasurer for 17 years prior. She got her start as an IUE bookkeeper in 1954 and rose to become Chair of the IUE Women's Council, Director of IUE's Social Action Department and a Vice President. In 1993, she became the second African-American woman to be elected an AFL-CIO Vice President, and on the IUE-CWA merger, she became CWA's Women's Activities Coordinator. After stepping down from CLUW, she led the newly-created Labor Coalition for Community Action. Gloria retired in 2005. She died on February 13, 2013, at age 85.

VICE PRESIDENT TNG-CWA BERNIE LUNZER: <u>Connie Knox</u> was a *Baltimore Sun* reporter and staffer who had been active in the Newspaper Guild at every level for more than three decades. After stints with the *Waterbury Republican-American* and the *Willoughby News-Herald*, Connie began working at *The Sun* in 1978. She soon got involved in the Washington-Baltimore Guild where she served as Unit Chair, Local Vice President and President for 12 years. In 1991 she was elected an at-large Vice President for TNG-CWA and later served as TNG-CWA Vice President for Region 2. In 2008, she was elected TNG-CWA International Chair, one of TNG's three top offices. She retired in April 2011 and died a few months later on July 17. She was 68.

VICE PRESIDENT DISTRICT 2-13 ED MOONEY: <u>Ray Myers</u>, Executive President of the Retired Members' Council, spent his working and retirement years building CWA. He started his career in the labor movement in 1957, working for Bell of Pennsylvania. He was elected President of Local 23 of the Federation of Telephone Workers of Pennsylvania, and he continued to serve in that position following its merger with CWA in 1984. Later in life, he never missed an opportunity to join a picket line and support CWA campaigns. He was elected Executive President of the Retired Members' Council in 2010 and also served as President of RMC District 13. Ray Myers was editing an email to his retiree chapter when he died on March 15, 2012 at age 73.

VICE PRESIDENT DISTRICT 3 JUDY DENNIS: <u>Robert "Ben" Porch</u>, a retired Vice President of District 3, was one of the youngest CWA leaders ever elected. Working as a lineman for Southern Bell in Alabama, he joined the newly-formed Communications Workers of America at age 24. Ben went on to serve as Alabama Director, North Georgia Director and North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky Director. In 1967, he was elected District 3 Vice President. He served as Vice President and in other positions within CWA, and then was re-elected District 3 Vice President in 1978, serving until his retirement in 1987. In 1988, the COPE Hall of Fame Award was named for Porch in recognition of his tremendous support for CWA's political action program. Ben Porch died on December 31, 2012. He was 88.

**VICE PRESIDENT DISTRICT 4 LINDA HINTON:** <u>Seth Rosen</u> was the past District 4 Vice President who fought tirelessly for workers' rights. He joined CWA Local 4309 while working at Ohio Bell and served as an officer and chief steward. He led District 4's organizing program and became Administrative Director to then Vice President Jeff Rechenbach. Seth was elected Vice President of District 4 in 2005 and was a leader in organizing, bargaining and coalition building. Through his leadership, union and progressive allies defeated Ohio's Senate Bill 5, which attacked the bargaining rights of public workers. He was a behind-the-scenes powerhouse who never wavered in the face of successive attacks on workers' rights across the Midwest. Seth chaired the CWA Executive Board Committee on Organizing and was a founding member of "Jobs with Justice" and "Stand Up for Ohio." Seth Rosen died on July 20, 2012 at age 55 as he and the bargaining team were successfully negotiating a tentative agreement for 15,000 CWA members at AT&T Midwest.

**CWA GENERAL COUNSEL MARY O'MELVENY:** Patrick Scanlon, CWA's past General Counsel, devoted his entire legal career to workers' rights. In what he considered his greatest achievement, CWA won a \$60 million maternity leave settlement at a former AT&T subsidiary, securing back pay and seniority credit for 13,000 workers at the former AT&T subsidiary Western Electric. He was named CWA Associate General Counsel in 1980. He moved from District 3 - Atlanta to Washington, DC, in 1981, then moved to CWA Headquarters as General Counsel in 1986. As General Counsel, Patrick advised CWA leaders on the legal conduct of strikes, contract negotiations and details on grievances, and supervised and helped arbitrate more than 200 cases each year. Pat also served as the CWA's Convention Parliamentarian throughout his career, and was the Co-Chair of the American Bar Association's Equal Employment Opportunity and its International Labor Law Committee. Pat retired in 2005. He died on April 4, 2012 at age 71.

**CWA SENIOR DIRECTOR GEORGE KOHL:** <u>George Strick</u>, former District 2 Vice President and a special assistant to the President, dedicated his life's work to building our union. He joined the National Federation of Telephone Workers in 1946 in Kansas City, Missouri, and served Local 6325 as Chief Steward and Vice President. He worked on several organizing campaigns, including Western Electric, and joined the CWA staff in Kansas City in 1960. He was named Assistant to the Vice President of CWA District 2 in 1966 and became Vice President in 1974. In 1986, he was named a special assistant to the President. He served as a long time board member of the Joseph Anthony Beirne Foundation. George Strick retired in 1989. George was an artist and many of us are blessed to have one of his portraits. He was 89 when he died on April 7, 2013.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** We now remember those CWA Local Officers who have passed away since our last convention. Among them:

#### District 1

Tom Appler, Officer, Local 1126 Raymond L Wagner, President, Local 1122 Edward Dempsey, President, Local 1101 Dee Truchon, Secretary, Local 1033

## District 2-13

Altamese Dangerfield, Sec-Treasurer, Local 2275 Michael McCalla, Executive Vice President, Local 13500 Joseph C. Mell, Department Representative for AT&T, Local 13550

## District 3

W.E. (Bill) Smoot, Jr., Vice President, Local 3808 Eric Douglas Cox, President, Locals 10519 and 3519

## District 4

Terry Short, Secretary-Treasurer, Local 4319 Mark Powell, President, Local 4510 Ned Sibich, Vice President, Local 4773

# District 6

James Eberhart III, President, Local 6225 Kenneth W. Flanagan, President, Local 6391

## District 9

David Goodwin, Executive Vice President, Local 9588

Chuck Latimer, Vice President, District 9, Retired Members' Council and former Secretary-Treasurer, Local 9509

## TNG-CWA

Angel Baez Rivera, President and Executive Secretary, UP AGRA Local 33225 Darlene Myers, Washington Post Unit Chair, Local 32035

## AFA-CWA

Shirley Barber, United Airlines Master Executive Council Secretary-Treasurer and Negotiating Committee Member, Local 29012

Karen Mazuer, Local President and Negotiating Committee Member, Local 21006 Edith Lauterbach, last member of the original organizers of AFA.

Their legacy is the union that we work to build every day. We remember their dedication to CWA and we honor them by continuing the fight for workers' rights and justice for all.

... Singing of Amazing Grace by Jeannette Spoor ... (Applause)

## **PRESIDENT COHEN:** Thank you all.

Now I would like to ask those locals working on T-Mobile to come to the platform. As they come up, it is my pleasure to bring to the podium the National Organizing Director Sandy Rusher. (Applause)

**ORGANIZING DIRECTOR SANDY RUSHER:** Wow, there's a lot of you! This is exciting. (Applause) Will you roll the video please.

... A video was shown featuring T-Mobile employees and their efforts to organize, ending with participants shouting "We Expect Better" ... (Applause)

**DIRECTOR RUSHER:** As Larry said yesterday "Things are hard, but they are not hopeless." And each of us has to figure out in what we do what our part is to bring change and what gives us hope. And I have to say, for me, working side by side with the people you saw in the video and these locals who know that organizing is hard, but it's not hopeless yet; that we can still move forward and we can still build organizations.

These incredible locals standing on the stage this afternoon have been at the forefront of building a new kind of worker organization. TU is the union for T-Mobile workers in the United States. When a T-Mobile worker signs up to be a member, he or she joins both the Communications Workers of America and ver.di, a German union that represents 80,000 workers at Deutsche Telekom, T-Mobile's parent company in Germany.

Over 700 T-Mobile workers in the U.S. are members of TU, but only 16 are covered by a union contract. At the last Convention, we honored District 1 in their fight to support a group of technicians who had won an election in Connecticut. We all know that winning an election is just one part of the hurdle. Getting a first contract is at least as hard. I am happy to say that Local 1298, working with the technicians, have their first contract. (Applause and cheers)

But the rest of the 700 are joining TU without the prospect of getting a contract or even an election in the immediate future. They are joining to be part of an organization to stand up and fight back. And with the support of these locals and our deepening partnership with ver.di, they are doing just that. And I want to just give you a few examples of what they have done in the last year.

We fought back last spring when T-Mobile closed seven call centers and displaced 3,300 workers. After the FCC turned down AT&T's effort to merge with T-Mobile-- when AT&T had guaranteed in writing that no call centers would close and that all the workers in both companies would not only keep their jobs, but 5,000 jobs would be returned from overseas-- after they turned that down, T-Mobile decided to close the seven centers.

We knew those jobs had gone oversees. Our TU members told us, and they started collecting proof. Because if they could prove the jobs went overseas, they would qualify for Trade Adjustment Assistance.

Soon after President Obama was elected on the recommendation of the Labor Movement, he extended trade adjustment assistance to service workers. T-Mobile called the closings a "consolidation," and publicly lied repeatedly about the jobs being off-shored, even though those additional benefits for displaced workers would have cost the company nothing.

We presented 275 pages of evidence, and the Department of Labor agreed with us and granted Trade Adjustment Assistance to those 3,300 workers. (Applause)

For those workers it meant two years of extended unemployment compensation, along with two years of COBRA subsidy that covers three-quarters of the health care cost, tuition assistance for training, and a number of other benefits that have helped these workers land on their feet. As a worker from the closed call center in Frisco, Texas, put it, "The Communications Workers of America were out there covering our backs so we at least have some ground to stand on." Many of these displaced workers are still very active in the organizing effort, and will go into new jobs knowing what it means to be union.

Now these locals are working with TU members fighting to retain jobs with the merger between T-Mobile and Metro PCS. We pushed the FCC to extract job guarantees as a condition for approving the merger. Locals reached out to political leaders in their communities who wrote letters to the FCC. TU members came to Washington, DC, to personally meet with the members of the FCC, and they signed petitions to their CEO. We forced T-Mobile to promise publicly that workers would not lose their jobs because of the merger.

But we are not giving up. Tomorrow CWA locals with TU members and allies will be present at the Metro PCS shareholders meeting in Richardson, Texas, where they are likely to approve the merger. I want to recognize the Dallas/Ft. Worth locals, 6201, 6215, 6171, and 6150, who are turning out their members tomorrow while a TU member will boldly be speaking inside to shareholders. (Applause)

Locals have now started to have sister cities with locations in Germany. Nashville and Chattanooga, Tennessee, Locals, 3808 and 3802, paired with Düsseldorf; Charleston, South Carolina, Local 3704 with Berlin; Wichita, Kansas, Local 6402 with Dortmond; and Albuquerque Local 7011 with Bavaria, and others are just starting. The banners they are holding will be delivered to their sister locations next month when a delegation will go to Germany to speak at the Deutsch Telekom shareholders meeting.

The relationships between our two unions are deepening and broadening, as you saw in this video. Much like the multi-year fight through the 1990s with Southwestern Bell in District 6 where CWA members from the core part of SBC were willing to use their power in relationship with the company to ultimately win organizing neutrality and card check organizing rights, and because of that, we now represent over 43,000 AT&T Mobility members, many of which are here today.

And ver.di is doing the same thing-- sending the message to their company that, "We will not let you get by with saying in Germany that you respect workers' rights and working with us there, while you behave this way in the United States." (Applause)

This is <u>the</u> campaign for global labor and the symbol globally of what's wrong in the United States with our democracy and our economy and the duplicity of corporations operating one way in their home countries where unions are strong, whether it's Germany, Sweden, or Brazil, and completely lowering themselves to the level of most U.S. corporations when they operate here.

In Charleston, South Carolina, in February, the head of world labor movement, Sharan Burrow, the General Secretary of the International Trade Union Confederation, came to personally witness what T-Mobile was doing. She was appalled that the company's security guard was clearly monitoring us as we were hand-billing, because when she tried to walk over and talk to a couple of workers outside smoking, they immediately came out, tried to intimidate her, and started taking pictures of our car license plates.

At the base of all of this, it's these locals supporting TU members who are moving us forward and building this global alliance. Join me in thanking them. (Applause)

One of the local presidents who has been involved with this is Steven Auerbach, President of Local 3704 in Charleston. I've had the pleasure of working with him several times, including when Sharan Burrow came, and he had to leave. He couldn't be here. But I wanted to roll the video of Steven talking about his work on this.

... Video remarks as follows ...

**DELEGATE STEVEN AUERBACH (President, Local 3704):** In 2011, I became President of Local 3704 in Charleston, South Carolina. Our Local has about 200 members, down from over 500 when I joined 13 years ago.

We know that the rise of mobile, internet and cable has also left us on the defensive. In my local, we represent 60 AT&T Mobility workers, so I'm very aware that all the other cell phone companies are non-union. When we are in bargaining, it is like all those other companies are sitting on the other side of the table from us with management.

As a new president, one of the ways I saw that I could help Mobility members be in a stronger bargaining position was to help workers at their competitors organize. We began working with T-Mobile call center employees in Charleston last summer, and it has been an eye-opening experience for me.

We all know how stressful the call center work environment is, but the T-Mobile working conditions go beyond the typical sales pressure we see at AT&T. Employees are belittled and harassed constantly, and they have no recourse but to quit if they don't like the way they're treated, or they are fired without cause with no one to turn to.

But even worse is the constant fear they work under. One told us, "Every Monday morning I go to work wondering if I will have a job at the end of the day." They are afraid to even take a flyer from us because they know that management is watching them out the window, keeping track of who stops.

I know there are probably many of you at this meeting like me-- you walked into a job that already had a union.

As President Cohen has said, each of us has to take responsibility for building the movement for working people, and through this organizing I understand more and more what that means. We are reaching out and working with political leaders, student groups and academics at the College of Charleston, religious and civil rights leaders for their support. We are part of building a global partnership with the German union ver.di. Our T-Mobile call center and our local has partnered with the workers from a Deutsche Telekom in Berlin. This past February they came for a week to visit and work with us in

Charleston. The last day of their visit we had a "Speak Out" where President Cohen and community leaders came and listened to the T-Mobile workers tell their story of fear and harassment.

At the end, these ver.di members were in tears as they committed to use their power with this company to force them to stop their union-busting. We now talk to them regularly on conference calls and in emails as they have taken this story back to Germany and are confronting the company there.

I'm very proud to be standing up here with these locals. My local and I are pretty new to this, but many of these folks have been helping to build the union for T-Mobile workers for a number of years.

I'd like to encourage more locals like the ones up here on stage to get involved in this. Let's make this the year Deutsche Telekom starts living up to the commitment to higher labor standards that they gave to CWA when we helped them get into the U.S. cellular market 13 years ago. Thank you. (Applause)

**DIRECTOR RUSHER:** I would like to ask, you have gotten a number of pictures from ver.di members, and every place they go-- I just got an email that yesterday they were at a soccer game handing out for three hours 3,000 flyers at the soccer game because Deutsche Telekom is a big sponsor of several soccer teams. And they always send us a picture of them holding up "We Expect Better" signs, so we know they are over there in the fight.

I want to ask all of you all, we have these signs, so if you would stand up and hold it up, we would like to take a picture so that we can send it to them, showing our appreciation for what they are doing with our union here to have made this fight in the United States their fight. Thank you.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** As they leave the podium, I would only add one comment. When I spoke to the ver.di Congress-- and ver.di has two million members so it's the largest union in the world, as Sandy said, with 80,000 at Deutsche Telekom-- they asked me to speak about this to their Congress, which is similar to our Convention.

The leader of ver.di, Frank Bsirski, introduced me by saying, "We used to send our young activists to Nicaragua to see what was going on in the world, and now we send them to the United States." But we shouldn't take that as despairing. We should take it as what our leadership means here in this union and what you are all doing, and these locals up here and what you are all doing who aren't here on other fronts, and how they are all connected to what we have been talking about these two days.

The German labor movement is among, or probably is, the strongest in the world. And they recognize that if our labor movement here continues to sink, it affects the entire global economy and, more importantly, as a human rights effort, it's the right thing to do.

As Sandy said, they have been incredible and we hope to bring these partnerships to your community wherever you are organizing T-Mobile. It's like many of these other things we are talking about here. It's not that they are more important than other things; it's that there is something about them that can light up a bigger group-- in this case, the German labor movement. The entire world labor movement adopted this campaign because Deutsche Telekom operates, particularly wireless, in every country in Europe. So that is why this is lifted up the way it is.

I now want to bring to the podium our Organizing Chair, Vice President Vita Shook, leader of AFA and organizer. Actually, she was a leader at Alaska Airlines, the leader, the elected leader, and then-- I hear a few Alaska people here, Vita. It's not our biggest state, or you would have gotten more-- she went on to be a key organizer at Delta, and you know the story there: Never quitting, organizing over and over again. So it's fitting that now she is the Chair of our Executive Board Organizing Committee. I bring to you Vita Shook. (Applause)

**AFA-CWA VICE PRESIDENT VEDA SHOOK (Chair, Organizing Committee):** Good afternoon. Before we talk about the 2013 Organizing Awards, I would just like to acknowledge how proud I am to be a member of CWA, how proud I am of the progress of this great union, how proud I am of the work that's been accomplished over these past two days, and how moved I am talking about organizing and moving forward right after we've honored those that are no longer with us.

The founding member of AFA, Edith Lauterbach, passed away just before our AFA board meeting recently, and I am so grateful for the paths that have been paved so that we can be here today, forging new paths. That's what we have been talking about for these two days.

And I am thankful for the leadership of Larry. I am thankful for our amazing members, like Seth who we honored today. I am thankful for Ed Sabol, who was at the previous Convention as our Organizing Director, and I am thankful for the wonderful work of Sandy Rusher as our Organizing Director. So, as Mother Jones would say, "We mourn for the dead, but we sure as hell fight for the living." (Applause)

Over these past two years, our CWA locals all across our union have brought in over 25,000 new members through external organizing campaigns. We will now be recognizing a group of locals for this special success in organizing. In either one or both of the past two years, these locals were able to support over 100 workers in gaining formal recognition for a voice at work.

In each one of these organizing campaigns we will be reading off, there is a story, a face, a family. Lives were changed in a real way for the workers who now have a union and the CWA local which encouraged and helped them.

This list of victories is significant in that it reflects the organizing we are supporting in every sector of our union, from telecommunications to health care workers, from university workers to interpreters, from flight attendants to airport shuttle drives, we are building our union. It's these locals, and the hundreds of others we won't be officially acknowledging up here, who are fighting across our communities and within our industries.

But to those locals who tried but did not reach that number of 100 new workers, for those in states and bargaining units without security clauses in your contract so internal organizing is a daily part of your work, and for those in membership organizations without formal recognition but are signing up new members and building power as a movement, we want to say that your efforts are critical and you inspire us each and every day. You know better than anyone the accomplishment of these locals we are about to recognize who supported over 100 workers in new bargaining units to win representation rights.

We all know that, even when we work our hearts out, like Larry just mentioned with Delta, we have incredible inside leaders and do systemic organizing, it's not a guarantee of victory in these times. The loss on January 15th of this year by 150 votes in an election for almost 10,000 American Airlines customer service employees is an example of that. Their 16-year fight to become part of CWA is not over, and our slogan "one day longer" is reflected in that effort. And many of those names we will be calling off today.

More than 300 locals have received this award at least once. Each local will receive a \$1,000 organizing subsidy as well as a plaque for the current year. Locals who won this award five, ten, and fifteen times will receive \$5,000. So join me as we congratulate these locals. We will do one clap and then I will tell you what they did. Clap once, then twice.

Local 1036, West Trenton, New Jersey: 37 Certified Nursing Assistants at Aspen Hill and Buttonwood Hospitals; 50 Licensed Practical Nurses, Pysch Aides and maintenance workers at Buttonwood Hospital; and 60 supervisors in Cumberland County, New Jersey. (Applause) Local 1109, Brooklyn, New York: 282 technicians at CableVision; 69 technicians at Falcon Data Com; and 53 techs, warehouse workers and dispatchers at Vision Pro. (Applause)

Local 1126, New York Mills, New York: 103 Registered Nurses at St. Luke's Faxton Healthcare-Faxton Hospital. (Applause)

Local 3010, San Juan, Puerto Rico: 81 installers at JAF Communications-Caguas and Ponce; 3 workers at AT&T Switch; 11 AT&T Mobility-St. Croix workers; and 13 installers at TTS-Salinas. This is the fifth time this local has received this award. (Applause)

Local 3176 of Ocala, Florida: 131 employees at Embarq/CenturyLink. (Applause)

Local 3403, Baton Rouge, Louisiana: 138 retail workers in AT&T Mobility. (Applause)

Local 3406, Lafayette, Louisiana: 116 retail workers at AT&T Mobility. (Applause)

Local 3410, New Orleans, Louisiana: 132 retail workers at AT&T Mobility. (Applause)

Mississippi Political Action Council united locals throughout Mississippi to successfully organize 312 AT&T Mobility retail workers. (Applause)

Local 4302, Akron, Ohio: 378 classified staff at the University of Akron. (Applause)

Local 7777, Denver, Colorado: 102 SuperShuttle drivers. (Applause)

Local 9119, Berkeley, California: 165 Senior Dietitians at the University of California. (Applause)

Local 39521, San Francisco, California: 225 ASL sign language interpreters at Purple Communications. The local is receiving this award for the fifth time. (Applause)

Local 26072, headquartered in Oklahoma: 355 flight attendants at Omni Air International.

And for our Pinnacle Airlines MEC in Minneapolis, Minnesota: 1,470 Flight Attendants at Pinnacle Airlines. (Applause)

So this is an amazing group, and we are truly inspired. Let's give them all a collective round of gratitude and welcome to our union. (Applause)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Since 1972, it's been our tradition to recognize outstanding achievements in organizing by presentation of the President's Annual Award. The award was considered by our founding president, Joe Beirne, to be our union's highest honor.

Down through the years, Joe's successors, Glenn Watts and Morty Bahr, carried on the tradition, and now that's a responsibility that I take on with great enthusiasm and pride in our union, our locals, and our organizers who continue to believe-- and act on-- all three sides of the Triangle: Representation, Movement Building, and Organizing.

Over the years, this award has gone to individuals, locals, or districts that have worked together to build our union. This year I am proud to present the award to two deserving locals.

The first-- and I'm not going to read through all this because you know this story-- Local 1109, Brooklyn, New York, CableVision.

... The delegates arose and applauded ...

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** As I said, the script for me goes on and on. I'm not doing that because you know the story. You know what it means. This is a very proud moment for all of us. You know what they are going through there, their spirit, their determination. You heard the story from Chris Calabrese at the mike, that they triggered a de-cert. Then they e-mailed every employee how to sign it. The NLRB has blasted this company. Stuff I have never seen.

The problem is, as you also heard when we had the motion on the NLRB, "Well, what is the NLRB today?" They threw out the de-cert, and the list of charges goes on and on and on. But most importantly is the political work that's been done, not just by 1109 but by the entire district and really our entire union, goes on and on against CableVision.

As I told the CEO, "You have a choice. You own CableVision--" and he also owns the Knicks, the Rangers, Madison Square Garden, Radio City Music Hall. There's more, but I don't remember the rest. "You've got big business. You want to run the business, or do you want to become the poster for what's wrong in this country and how the NLRB is broken and destroyed? You want to be the wake-up call for millions of American workers? You make that choice, Mr. Dolan. That's the choice you have."

But as for the rest of us, we are sticking with these brothers-- Jerome and all the rest of the brothers and sisters in Brooklyn. We are sticking with 1109. We are sticking with District 1. And as you heard when they were before us yesterday, "One day longer, one day stronger. One day longer, one day stronger."

... The delegates began chanting in unison-- "One day longer, one day stronger." (Applause)

**DELEGATE ROLANDO SCOTT, JR. (President, Local 1109):** Good afternoon, brothers and sisters, President Cohen, National Executive Board, delegates, retirees and guests: I humbly accept this award on the behalf of my members, my local, and my staff.

The current laws in this country today make it very difficult to effectively organize. The laws are extremely favorable to the employer. Yet in 2008, myself and my Executive Vice President, Chris Calabrese, set out on a course to organize the Brooklyn CableVision workers. Although we made significant headway and even garnered the support of local politicians, once the company found out, they immediately went on an aggressive, anti-union campaign, and we lost momentum.

Thankfully, in 2011, with the highly-visible Verizon mobilization campaign to negotiate a contract occurring in Brooklyn, it rekindled the interest once again in the Brooklyn CableVision workers to consider joining our union.

With the support of my District VP Chris Shelton and his staff, we launched a successful organizing drive and the workers overwhelmingly said "yes" to join CWA in January 2012. (Applause)

As my Executive Vice President Chris Calabrese spoke and mentioned to you earlier today, our journey has been a long, ongoing rollercoaster struggle towards getting our first contract. I would not be standing here today without the tremendous support and backing of my Vice President Chris Shelton, President Larry Cohen, and the National Executive Board.

I would like to thank and acknowledge the support of my staff at the local and my members throughout this process. I would also like to thank all of the supportive locals throughout New York State, New Jersey, and Connecticut who came to our rallies, our press conferences, and Lobby Days up in Albany, New York, in support of our CableVision workers.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge my Executive Vice President, Chris Calabrese, for his energy, passion, tireless and relentless drive and commitment toward organizing our CableVision brothers and

sisters. It has been invaluable. (Applause) Thank you, Chris. Come up here, Chris.

On April 3rd of this year, in New York City at the Grand Sheraton, the Jewish Labor Committee held their annual dinner gala. My Vice President Chris Shelton was one of the honorees. President Larry Cohen presented Shelton with the award.

The two keynote speakers that night were International President of the AFL-CIO Rich Trumka and the Teacher's Union President Randy Weingarten. They both spoke extensively for the need of national organizing drives in this country, to fight back corporate greed and economic disparities and to restore a thriving middle class.

I have 33 years in the labor movement, two years with the Longshoremen's Union, eight years with the Transport Workers Union, and the last 23 years with CWA. I am proud to be in CWA because it is the most progressive, proactive, diverse, inclusionary, and visionary union. From the East Coast to the West Coast, Canada and Puerto Rico, it is the strongest movement in the labor movement today. I want to thank Larry Cohen for his leadership and direction. (Applause)

Having said that, let us work together to forge our future-- not only for ourselves, but for our children and for succeeding generations. Thank you very much. And I would like Chris to say a few words. (Applause)

**DELEGATE CHRIS CALABRESE (Local 1109):** I wasn't really expecting to speak on this. I didn't know we were getting this award. But Scottie had mentioned before, and there has been a lot of talk in this convention about movement building. This CableVision campaign has been a movement. That's how it's been from the beginning, with the support of the district and all the locals in our area. And I would really like to thank-- we got this award, but two of our organizing drives were a collaborative effort with Local 1101, Manhattan, so I want to thank them for their support, and their President Keith Purce.

But really, we got a lot of help from the district, and it wouldn't be right to not mention Tim Dubnau, Erin Mahoney, Anne Luck-Deak, Hetty Rosenstein, Chris Shelton, Dennis Trainor, Gladys Finnigan, and our staff rep Billy Gallagher, because they have given us all the support. If I missed anyone, I apologize. It wasn't intentional.

Thank you. (Applause)

**DELEGATE SCOTT:** I want to thank everybody in the room. It takes solidarity. It takes everybody, you know, to come together to fight these major corporations. We did a lot of work, but there is more work to be done. Like I said yesterday, there will be no sleep until Brooklyn gets a contract. (Applause and cheers)

VICE PRESIDENT CHRIS SHELTON: I said I wasn't going to say anything, but I can't help myself.

As everybody said, this has been a really tough, tough organizing drive, a tough, tough contract negotiation, and I just want to give a message to the-- excuse my French-- but the asshole who owns this company. His name is James Dolan.

Dolan, just remember this, because we ain't done. We ain't never gonna be done until we get a contract there. Thank you. (Applause)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** The second award-- and similarly, CWA locals around the country never giving up, supporting workers in their communities for as long as it takes-- this is an organizing effort that began 25 years ago. On February 11, 2013, almost 400 employees at the University of Akron won their election to join CWA Local 4302. The local had already represented 280 trades and building service

workers. Since 1989, the local had been working with employees who wanted to be represented in the Classified Unit but had never been able to reach a majority.

They were experiencing rising healthcare costs, low wages, high workloads. With the motto of "One union for respect, opportunity, and security," the local worked with a group of Classified leaders, talking one-on-one, slowly building inside leadership and support. In the spring of 2011, they ran into a road block, Senate Bill 5. The Ohio State Legislature passed this bill which took away bargaining rights for all Ohio public workers.

The local mobilized its members, formed coalitions, and joined the fight against this legislation that we heard about. Ron Gaye spoke about it from the podium-- from the microphone.

They were successful. But in November 2011, SB-5 was repealed in a referendum statewide. Over a year later, with the previously "low-key" campaign that focused on getting support while keeping anti-union activity to a minimum, they were ready to file for an election and get out the vote. The 20member Inside Organizing Committee met weekly. They, along with local members, including local officers, did daily house visits, workplace meetings, and phone banking to firm up their support. Seventyfive percent of the unit turned out, and the majority of the votes were for CWA. (Applause)

This is an example of perseverance with an effort that was strategic for the local and built power for the members in their community. They won because of their strong Inside Organizing Committee and the dedication from the local to grow the union, and by utilizing all three sides of the CWA Triangle.

I am proud to present this second President's Award to Local 4302.

... The delegates arose and applauded ...

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** The inscription reads, "In grateful recognition of dedicated service through wholehearted acceptance of CWA's organizing program and dedicated efforts to making that effective. Awarded by the President, Communications Workers of America." Congratulations. (Applause)

**DELEGATE TODD LEYDA (President, Local 4302):** Wow! Good afternoon. If you don't know, I didn't know. I am humbled to be standing here with all these locals that have organized and multiple award winners. I am very humbled. In District 4, we have tried to work all three sides of the Triangle. And I am just proud of my local and proud of the support I had from former VP Seth Rosen, VP Hinton, Katie Romich, our District Organizer, all the staff and the other locals for their help. And thank you all. Thanks. (Applause)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** A lot of hard work. Let's thank all the locals. We appreciate all the locals, and recognize all the locals, not only up here but all of you who continue to organize, organize, organize. (Applause)

It's my pleasure to introduce Jim Little, President of the Transport Workers Union. Jim was elected President five years ago. From his first moment, I knew we had a brother, not just in some symbolic way but in a deep way. Again the TWU was a key union in the CIO, just as we talked about the Steel Workers. I grew up in a neighborhood in North Philadelphia where they were legendary, representing mass transit. For my parents and everyone really who went to work in that community, they went by trolley or subway. And the power of that union, the militancy of that union, was known throughout the city and remains that way today.

TWU has been our alliance partner for two years, which means that, as you saw in the movementbuilding video, in many places we do political work together. An example in the video was voter registration with District 2-13 in Philadelphia, which was very creative, actually using the subway stops as a place to set up a card table or an ironing board, register people as they went to work. But again, for me, our alliance with TWU is a key example of how we do our own movement building. You can't count, as you all know, on every union. In many ways we don't have a unified labor movement. We certainly don't have one committed to being in the streets, committed to taking up the fight, whether it's political or whether it's in a bargaining fight or an organizing drive.

But our alliance with TWU, whether in New York City where they are out for CableVision workers, one of the biggest unions in New York, or whether it's in the airline industry as we deal with these mergers-- half their members are in the airline industry, including flight attendants and others-- they are there with us.

It's with great pleasure that I present to you our alliance partner, and the President of the Transport Workers Union, Jim Little. (Applause)

JAMES C. LITTLE (President, Transport Workers Union of America): Thank you. Thank you very much, Larry.

Good afternoon, sisters and brothers. It's really an honor to be here at the highest level, at CWA's Convention, to get a chance to speak to the delegates, see the retirees, people who bring us to where we are today.

I would also like to take a moment to introduce one of my colleagues, John Conley. John Conley is our Administrative Vice President and also handles a lot of our international affairs. John? (Applause)

You know, Larry mentioned about our relationship, and it actually goes back a little longer than just a few years ago. It probably goes back to 2005 when I first had an opportunity to sit down with Larry. I talked to him, and it was right after he had taken office from Morty Bahr. It was during the time when the AFL-CIO was struggling. And we talked about partnerships.

It didn't take very long for me, after a couple of meetings with Larry, to realize that Larry and I had a lot in common. One thing, he is an exuberant leader, he is also a tireless worker, and he truly believes in the Labor Movement. And I cherish that relationship because, as Larry had mentioned earlier, that's not always the case in the Labor Movement. I have said things about the Labor Movement that are probably not good to say in public, but unfortunately we have to say these things.

I have also had the opportunity to work with a number of Vice Presidents of CWA. I have also had a chance to work with some family members of the affiliates who are part of the CWA family-- very closely with Vita Shook, another leader who I have worked closely with and who has shown a great deal of power and persuasion in getting the job done.

I have also had the opportunity to work with Chris Shelton and, no matter what rally I have been at, no matter how cold it is-- and I have been in some cold rallies-- who is there, but Chris. Chris, I thank you for that, because you are certainly tireless when it comes to supporting our efforts in New York.

I want to thank Annie Hill for her leadership. And I only got to know Annie over the last couple years, but you are very blessed in this Labor Movement.

What I want to talk to you a little bit about today is, yes, as Larry said, about two years ago we solidified our relationship a little closer. We signed an affiliation, a symbolic symbol that we were going to collectively take on the challenges in front of us. And we have many challenges in front of us. Larry mentioned a few minutes ago about a broken system. The system is broken.

 Control in Atlanta has not been able to get their arms around yet. It's not SARS. It's not West Nile virus. It's corporate greed. Corporate greed is what is dragging this nation down. And I'm going to give you an example of what's broken.

I have the privilege to represent members at American Airlines. Back in 2003 when companies were going into bankruptcy and airlines were going bankrupt, we knew at that time that if they went into bankruptcy, the company would have probably ended up in Chapter 7. That was the state of events. And I'm not going to bore you with all the gory details of what management did to drive us to that point.

What I want to talk about is where we are today. We spent seven years-- seven years-negotiating a contract on that property for 26,000 workers. And we reached agreements, tentative agreements, and they were out for ratification. But during that ratification process, the company decided that we were going to go to bankruptcy. When I say "we," we didn't have a choice.

They decided in November of 2011 to file for bankruptcy while two contracts were up for ratification. They filed for bankruptcy with \$3 billion-- that's with a B-- \$3 billion in cash reserves. We can't do that. We couldn't file for our own personal bankruptcy with any type of liquidation funds, but they did it.

And what's wrong with the system is, if a company in Germany took the individuals to bankruptcy, the first thing they do-- the first thing they do is fire the management because they disgraced the company and brought them there. (Applause) But what do we do? We reward them. There isn't a company that goes into bankruptcy that the executives who brought it there do not come out as multi-multi-millionaires. In fact, companies today base themselves on a profit margin of how bad they do compared to other bad companies.

So, we go into a bankruptcy process, and they come and ask the employees for more-- more concessions-- in bankruptcy court that was set up on 1113. An 1113 was set up to be a safeguard. It was set up to be a shield for workers. Instead of that, it's being used as a sword to slash and cut. The bankruptcy law does not require, in this case of American who went in with their fully-loaded treasury, to even furnish a business plan. The business plan only came out a few weeks ago.

Meanwhile, they are asking employees for concessions-- deep cuts. And the bankruptcy court does everything in their power to make sure the company can come out of bankruptcy as a healthy carrier. It doesn't matter what happens to employees. It doesn't matter that their healthcare for retirees is cut. It doesn't matter that their pension plan that they worked for all their lives is either terminated or frozen. In the case of American, they wanted to terminate it. We managed to do as much lobbying as possible to freeze the plan figuring at some point in time you can unfreeze something, but once it's terminated, it's gone.

So we struggled with that. And despite all the bad things that happened in the bankruptcy process, and the fact that they don't have a business plan-- because you and I, if you wanted to start a business tomorrow and you needed to borrow money and you had to go to a bank and you said to the bank, "I want to start a small business," you know what the bank is going to say: What's your business plan? But not in the case here where they are asking for hundreds of millions of annual concessions for employees, and yet we don't have a business plan to measure by. There is no matrix.

Yes, we are broken, all right. We are broken just about in every single area. One of the things that we are not broken in is that we are not broken in our resolve. Labor does not give up.

We have seen how labor survived all these years. We know what we have ahead of us. But one thing I can tell you as we are all sitting here today is, if labor does not come together, then what I said at our Convention four years ago is going to come to fruition. If we do not evolve, we will dissolve.

And I am thankful that we have leadership in CWA that believes in evolution; that believes that the labor movement has to continue to move forward; that believes, regardless of the distraction, regardless of not everybody being on the same page, even if we have to pull everybody along with us, that we are still going to fight. And as the brother said before, "One day more, one day longer." That's what it's about.

We have a tremendous, tremendous uphill battle. We all thought that things were going to be great when our President came in, and yet he suffers just like the rest of us. Turmoil from day one. Instead of trying to move the country forward, what do they do? The Congress spends their time fighting.

And yet what have they done for the working people? Not more jobs. Not more jobs, not more good-paying jobs, not more skilled workers that we have here. But they are allowed to give companies tax benefits because they decide to offshore. And we've seen out-sourcing.

One of the things we were able to do at American, despite the fact that we went through a tremendous, tremendous bankruptcy problem, we managed to save a lot of our good overhaul work. By comparison, as an example, United, for example, they have three lines of heavy maintenance-- two at United, one at Continental. Even though we came out of bankruptcy, we managed to save 31 lines-- 31. There was no other company in the U.S. that comes close to that. That is part of the Legacy carriers.

You know, I would like to say that there's a positive light at the end of the tunnel. And you know what? I do look at it as positive. I've always felt that the glass is half full. But I believe that it's not for the fact that we have got to work together and work closer.

I've got a Convention this year later on in September, and much like CWA and other brothers and sisters, we are working on alliances. We have global alliances with RMT in the UK. We have a global alliance with Australia. We are working on some other global alliances, just like you guys are doing with ver.di. We realize how important it is, because we are dealing with multinationals, and they have a plan.

But we have to have a plan. We can't always be reactive. And when we call a rally, I know that workers in general, families in general, are now hurting because we have seen diminishes in our income. We have seen families struggle. We have seen incomes that, where normally a one-income household that can survive and perhaps put their kids in college, it's a struggle today. And yet we have a lot of people who are still unorganized.

I commend the CWA and commend this delegation for putting that in the forefront of your discussions, in the forefront of your Convention, how important it is to organize. Not the organized. I've got that going on right now. I went through a terrible bankruptcy at American, and yet I've got the IBT trying to raid us. I have got the IAM dropping cards on our property. And these are union people!

There is something wrong. There's something wrong with the labor movement, because what they should be saying is: How can we help? How can we help our brothers and sisters take on management? Take on corporate greed? Take on the problems that we have in legislation? Take on the changes that we have to make? Take on the ability to elect leadership out there that we hold accountable?

But accountability is just a word. What really matters is not just the accountability, but it's holding them to it. There have to be consequences. We have to hold the politicians accountable. We have to also tell them, "If you do not start supporting working families and stop the in-fighting, not just take our money and turn around and say thank you and forget about us when legislation comes forward, shame on you," but also shame on us! Shame on us if we don't hold them accountable. There has to be consequences. So maybe at the time when we hand them that check, we've got to remind them that, "There may not be another check coming, because we are going to be watching you."

One of the things that we have been doing in our organization is bringing our grassroots efforts to the states. We are still doing what we can in Washington, but we believe in the state conferences. We have been building that movement up. We have had tremendous success building our state conferences, getting our locals involved, and being there at the state level. So when they come in and they see us, they know it's their constituents.

And when we have rallies, just like we had when they were trying to go ahead and privatize Amtrak, we didn't just have talking heads up there. What we did was, we brought members. We brought members from their community to sit in the audience to see how they were speaking. And they were apprehensive about it. You're darn right. They better be.

So I want to applaud the CWA. I want to close by really saying how much of an honor it is for me to be part-- and I really believe I am part of the CWA family, Larry. I really believe in what you've shown us in the way of solidarity and support. I don't really have words, but I do have one word, and that is solidarity and you believe in what you are doing. That's energizing for us.

Earlier this year I had an opportunity to meet with your Executive Board-- I guess it was in March of last year-- and we signed that affiliation, and we would like to bring that to the next level. I'm going to ask our delegates to consider being a part of CWA. I want to be part of the CWA family.

... The delegates arose and applauded ...

**BROTHER LITTLE:** I want to show those out there what solidarity is all about. I want to sit in the audience with you. I want to walk the picket lines with you. I want to be at your rallies. I want us to be together. I want us to be united.

And I want us to say that we are going to fight the good fight because, at the end of the day, we will do everything in our power to stop the corporate greed that we are faced with in this epidemic that we have in this country. God bless. Thank you very much. (Applause)

... The delegates arose and applauded ...

**SECRETARY-TREASURER HILL:** We have the Next Gen raffle winners. There are four of them. The first one is a \$50 iTunes gift card for Cacci Greenfield from Local 2222. (Applause) Another \$50 iTunes gift card for Joseph Evans, Local 4309. Third, a \$100 iTunes gift card for Joseph Mayhew, Local 1103. And last but not least, an iPad for Steven Chalich, Local 7272. Congratulations. (Applause) I am assuming you pick them up net Next Gen booth.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Would the Appeals Committee come to the platform. You are already there, great.

Let me introduce the Appeals Committee:

Erin Hall, President, CWA Local 6316, Chair; Tom Benedetto, Executive Vice President, Local 1104; Debra Brown, President, Local 3706; Todd Leyda, President, Local 4302; and Richard Daszkowski, President, NABET-CWA, Local 59057.

The Appeals Committee reads one appeal at a time, and then it's handled like everything else before you.

I have another script. I am supposed to report on past items. I forgot.

In 2008-- yeah, believe it or not, 2008-- the Convention directed that the case of Dennis Deem and others out of Local 6377 be arbitrated. It involved a mass layoff, AT&T CNA III's in St. Louis. Initially the company refused to arbitrate. But eventually they agreed to arbitrate. Hearings were held in February, August, and September 2010.

This goes on forever, and I would love to find out more about this.

The arbitrator then took two years to issue the decision. By that time, the arbitrator found that technological change had caused the layoff and ruled against our union. That's worth a little more investigation. I will do that myself.

In 2011, the Convention directed that the case of Sarah Childs from Local 6009 be arbitrated. The case involved the termination of Ms. Childs for insubordination for not returning to work when her disability claim was rejected.

Ms. Childs also had a lawsuit pending against the company. The lawsuit was settled and included in the settlement of the lawsuit was the settlement of the arbitration case as well. The details are confidential.

Those were the two items.

We are back to the Committee, and for purposes of their report, I recognize the Chair.

**DELEGATE ERIN HALL (Local 6316, Chair of the Appeals Committee):** For the purpose of reading Appeal No. 1, we have Debra Brown.

### COMMITTEE MEMBER BROWN:

### APPEAL NO. 1

On July 5, 2012, Debra Bracey, former Treasurer of CWA Local 6215, appealed the CWA Executive Board's decision to uphold the Local 6215 officer elections.

CWA Local 6215 conducted local officer elections on October 24, 2011. Debra Bracey was a candidate for the office of Treasurer. She did not prevail in that election.

On October 27, 2011, Ms. Bracey filed a challenge to the Election Committee citing numerous violations.

After careful review, the Election Committee determined that the challenge would have no effect on the outcome in the race for the officer's position of Treasurer.

Ms. Bracey exercised her right to appeal the 2011 election results to District 6 Vice President Claude Cummings. In Ms. Bracey's appeal she cited the same violations.

On February 16, 2012, Vice President Cummings answered the appeal responding to each violation, and concluded to uphold the decision of the Election Committee and the membership of Local 6215 and deny the appeal.

Ms. Bracey appealed to President Cohen on April 12, 2012. President Cohen determined "that no new issues or arguments were presented, and no explanation of why you believe Vice President Cummings' decision is erroneous. In fact, the appeals filed with me are identical. I see no reason to repeat Vice President Cummings' response; accordingly, I uphold the decision of Vice President Cummings and deny the appeal."

Ms. Bracey appealed to the Executive Board. Having reviewed the decision of Vice President Cummings and President Cohen and the file in this matter, the Executive Board found no reason to disturb the decision of President Cohen and, therefore, denied the appeal.

In addition, the file in this matter contains documents indicating that one or more of the unsuccessful candidates for office filed challenges with the Department of Labor. While the DOL did find problems with three (3) Chief Steward elections, which were re-run, the DOL did not find any issues that may have affected the outcome of any of the other elections.

After a thorough review of this case, the Appeals Committee recommends that the decision of the Executive Board be upheld and the appeal of Debra Bracey be denied.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Thank you. There is no one wishing to speak on this appeal. Therefore, the vote is in order and before you.

All those in favor of the Appeals Committee report on Appeal 1, please indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed? It is adopted.

I recognize the Chair.

CHAIR HALL: For the purpose of reading Appeal No. 2, we will have Debra Brown.

# COMMITTEE MEMBER BROWN:

# APPEAL NO. 2

On July 4, 2012, Eugenia Humphries, member of Local 6215, appealed the CWA Executive Board's decision to uphold the Local 6215 officer elections.

CWA Local 6215 conducted Local officer elections on October 24, 2011. Ms. Humphries was a candidate for the office of Executive Vice President. She did not prevail in that election.

On October 31, 2011, Ms. Humphries filed a challenge to the Election Committee, citing numerous violations.

After thorough and careful review, the Election Committee concluded that the challenge would have no effect on the outcome of the race for the officer's position of Executive Vice President.

Ms. Humphries appealed the 2011 election results to District 6 Vice President Claude Cummings on December 29, 2011, citing the same violations. Vice President Cummings answered the appeal responding to each cited violation and concluding to uphold the decision of the Election Committee and the membership of Local 6215 and deny the appeal.

Ms. Humphries appealed to President Cohen in which he determined that ". . .no new issues or arguments were presented, and no explanations of why you believe Vice President Cummings' decision is erroneous. In fact, the appeal filed with me is identical. I see no reason to repeat Vice President Cummings' response. Accordingly, I uphold the decision of Vice President Cummings and deny the appeal."

Ms. Humphries appealed President Cohen's decision to the Executive Board.

Having reviewed the decision of Vice President Cummings and President Cohen and the file in this matter, the Executive Board found no reason to disturb the decision of President Cohen and,

therefore, the Executive Board denied the appeal.

In addition, the file in this matter contains documents indicating that one or more of the unsuccessful candidates for office filed challenges with the Department of Labor. While the Department of Labor did find problems with the three chief steward elections, which were rerun, the Department of Labor did not find any issues that may have affected the outcome of any of the other elections.

After a thorough review of this case, the Appeals Committee recommends that the decision of the Executive Board be upheld and the appeal of Eugenia Humphries be denied.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Appeal 2 is before you. No delegate wishing to speak. All those in favor of the committee's report, please indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed? It is adopted. (Applause)

I Recognize the Chair for Appeal 3.

CHAIR HALL: For the purpose of reading Appeal No. 3, we have Richard Daszkowski.

### **COMMITTEE MEMBER DASZKOWSKI:**

## APPEAL NO. 3

NABET-CWA Local 51011 ("Local 11") member Charles Giles has appealed the CWA Executive Board's decision upholding President Cohen's decision regarding his challenge to the NABET-CWA Regional Vice President election.

NABET-CWA conducted its election for the position of Regional Vice President for NABET Region 1 between May 4 and June 1, 2012. The results of the election for this position were as follows:

Rich Gelber - 181 votes Ed McEwan - 157 votes Charles Giles - 89 votes

The election was certified on June 1, 2012, and no candidate received a majority of votes cast. Therefore, a run-off election between Rich Gelber and Ed McEwan was required.

Mr. Giles filed an election challenge with NABET-CWA President Jim Joyce on June 8, 2012, who referred it to the Sector Executive Council ("SEC") Regional Vice President Elections Committee ("Elections Committee"). After review, the Elections Committee recommended that the challenge be denied, and on June 18, 2012 the NABET SEC adopted the recommendations of the Elections Committee. Mr. Giles appealed the SEC decision to President Cohen and thereafter to the CWA Executive Board, both upholding the decision of the SEC.

Mr. Giles did not provide the Appeals Committee with any new or additional information to supplement the record provided to the Executive Board, and did not provide us with any explanation as to why he was appealing the Board's decision.

The extensive record indicates that Mr. Giles' challenge to the Election Committee and all of his subsequent appeals raised the same issues.

The first issue concerns alleged ballot return envelope defect problems. Of the approximately 4,600 ballots mailed out to both Regions 1 and 5, Mr. Giles is the only one to complain to the Sector about the alleged problem.

In addition, Mr. Giles did not provide any evidence to support his claims, nor did he offer any evidence of an effect on the outcome of the election. We agree with the Executive Board that the results of an election may not be overturned based on mere speculation.

The second issue is Mr. Giles' claim that Ed McEwan and Rich Gelber's biography sent with the ballots were defamatory and untruthful. In accordance with Department of Labor regulations, the Union cannot and does not censor campaign literature submitted to be sent out with the ballots.

Notwithstanding the DOL prohibition on censorship, the Executive Board reviewed the biographies at issue and found nothing "defamatory" in either of them, and that they were representative of typical campaign pieces. The Executive Board found no violation of the Sector Rules, the CWA Constitution, or federal laws governing union elections. We agree with the Executive Board's findings.

The third issue raised by Mr. Giles is whether dues-paying daily-hire members did not receive ballots due to the applicable Local not reporting them to the Sector in a timely fashion. President Cohen caused this issue to be investigated, and found that there were no daily hire members in this category out of Local 11. There were 34 individuals out of Local 16 in this category; however, even if all 34 votes were attributed to Mr. Giles, he still would not have been in the run-off election. We agree with the Executive Board that the 34 votes would not have affected the outcome of the election.

In conclusion, we noted that Mr. Giles contacted the Department of Labor with respect to the issues raised in his original challenge, but there is no record of any informal or formal investigation being initiated or completed by the DOL.

After a thorough review of the record, we find that there is no evidence to support a conclusion that a new election for Regional Vice President for NABET-CWA Region 1 is warranted and agree with the decision of the Executive Board.

Therefore, the Appeals Committee recommends that the decision of the Executive Board be upheld and the appeal of Charles Giles be denied.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** No delegate wishing to speak, Appeal 3 is before you. All those who agree with the Appeals Committee report, please indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed. It's adopted.

I recognize the Committee.

CHAIR HALL: For the purpose of reading Appeal No. 4, it will be myself, Erin Hall.

#### APPEAL NO. 4

On March 30, 2012, John Hansen, former President of Local 1171, appealed the Executive Board's decision concerning the recently conducted election for President in CWA Local 1171. The election was conducted on November 22, 2011. The tentative results for the office of President were as follows:

Thomas Gunning - 180 John Hansen - 151

Mr. Hansen challenges the conduct of the election. The challenge was based on the allegation that ballots were not mailed to all members, envelopes were mishandled, and the tally of the voters was not correct.

The Election Committee's decision was to overturn the results of the election for the position of President, based upon "difference in the number of members listed on the CWA membership list and the US Airways dues paying list." Mr. Gunning, winner in the election, appealed the decision of the Election Committee. The vote was tied two-to-two but later found that one member of the Election Committee was ineligible to be on the Election Committee because he was a candidate. Thus, Mr. Gunning was certified as President.

Mr. Hansen maintains that the September 2011 membership list issued by the Membership Dues Department and the September 2011 dues paying list issued by US Airways were inconsistent. Mr. Hansen states he discovered this during and after the election.

It is the Local's responsibility to keep its membership list up-to-date regardless of delays in the Membership Dues Department. Any inconsistencies in the two lists should have been resolved prior to the election. The Executive Board agreed with Vice President Shelton who stated, "the incumbents cannot direct which list to use, then cry foul when they lose."

Therefore, after a thorough review of the file, the Appeals Committee recommends that the decision of the Executive Board be upheld and the appeal of John Hansen, former President, be denied.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Thank you. Appeal 4 is before you. There are no delegates wishing to speak. All those in favor of the committee report, please indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed? It is adopted.

I recognize the committee Chair.

**CHAIR HALL:** For the purpose of reading Appeal No. 5, we have Todd Leyda.

# COMMITTEE MEMBER TODD LEYDA:

# APPEAL NO. 5

On November 21, 2012, NABET-CWA Local 51011 (Local 11) member Charles Giles appealed the Executive Board's decision regarding his "Challenge/Appeal and Complaint" against NABET-CWA Local 11.

Local 11 conducted a special election to fill a vacancy in the office of Vice President from July 19 through August 30, 2011. The election notice sent out on July 7, 2011, indicated that the term of office would "run until November 2014." Mr. Giles was the winning candidate in that election.

On September 7, 2011 NABET-CWA Local 11's attorney, Steve Starr, advised Local 11 that the announced term of office violated the LMRDA (Labor Management Reporting and Disclosure Act) because it extended beyond three years, and recommended the Local amend the Bylaws to state that "the term of office for the Special Election continue through the current term of office for the Vice President position, and that the position of Vice President remain on the ballot for the next election scheduled for November 2011." On September 7, 2011, the Local Executive Board adopted the recommendations of attorney Starr.

Mr. Giles sent emails to Local 11 President Cappo on September 25 and October 3, 2011, which indicate he was aware of the action taken by the Local 11 Executive Board. By letter dated October 21, 2011, and received by Local 11 on October 28, 2011, Mr. Giles filed a "challenge to Local 11 for changing the Vice President's term of office from 3 years to 3 months."

This formal challenge was addressed by the Local 11 Executive Board at its November 2, 2011,

meeting. Mr. Giles was present and an active participant in the open discussion. The Board decided to take no action on Mr. Giles challenge to the election. Any appeal of that decision should have been made to the NABET SEC within 30 days.

Mr. Giles appeal dated November 27, 2011, mailed on December 5, 2011, was received by the NABET Sector office on December 12, 2011. The NABET SEC ruled that Giles' appeal was untimely and notified him of that decision by letter dated January 20, 2012. Giles appealed the NABET SEC decision to President Cohen.

By letter dated March 13, 2012, President Cohen advised Mr. Giles that CWA would need additional time to respond to his appeal and subsequently advised him the matter was returned to the SEC for further consideration. The SEC then appointed a Committee to conduct a review of Mr. Giles appeal. A report issued by this Committee on June 7, 2012, recommended that Mr. Giles' appeal be found to be untimely, reaffirming the original decision. The SEC adopted the Committee's report and denied Giles' appeal as untimely.

On August 31, 2012, President Cohen upheld the decision of the SEC, noting that Mr. Giles had been on notice since at least September 25, 2011, that some action had been taken by the Local 11 Executive Board regarding the term of office for the special election for the Local Vice President position.

Mr. Giles was also present and participated in the Local 11 Executive Board meeting on November 2, 2011. During that meeting the Local Executive Board's minutes reflect that a consensus was reached to take no further action concerning the challenge, in effect denying Giles' appeal on November 2, 2011. On December 12, 2011, the SEC received a registered letter, US Postal date stamp December 5, 2011, appealing the Local's decision.

Subsequently, the Executive Board upheld President Cohen's decision agreeing the appeal is untimely. Timeliness is the only issue in this appeal. The Appeals Committee agrees that the appeal filed on December 5, 2011, was untimely.

Therefore, after a thorough review of the file, the Appeals Committee recommends that the decision of the Executive Board be upheld and the appeal of member Charles Giles be denied.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Appeal No. 5 is before you.

No delegate wishing to speak. All those in favor of the Appeals Committee report on Appeal 5, indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed? It is adopted.

I recognize the Committee.

**CHAIR HALL:** For the purpose of reading Appeal No. 6 we have Richard Daszkowski.

### COMMITTEE MEMBER DASZKOWSKI:

# APPEAL NO. 6

Judy Peace, Executive Vice President of CWA Local 6143, appealed the CWA Executive Board's decision upholding the recommendation of Prosecutor Donna Bentley in the matter of Appellant's charges against George Luna, President of Local 6143, and Joann Vasquez, Secretary-Treasurer of Local 6143.

Ms. Peace's appeal is narrowly focused on a claim that Prosecutor Bentley failed to address that portion of Appellant's charge claiming that both Mr. Luna and Ms. Vasquez violated the CWA Policy on Mutual Respect, also titled the CWA Policy on Discrimination, to the extent that the conduct complained of rose to the level necessary to meet the two tests required by Article XIX (1)(i) to warrant proceeding to

trial.

After a complete and thorough review of the documentary evidence available to the Committee, including, but not limited to, written witness statements provided by Ms. Peace, Prosecutor Bentley's Investigative Report, and the Executive Board's Decision, we have determined that Prosecutor Bentley and the Executive Board both concluded that the CWA Policy on Discrimination was not violated by Mr. Luna or Ms. Vasquez. We concur.

The essence of the Policy is stated in numbered paragraph three (3) which states in part:

". . .the Union shall [not] unlawfully discriminate against a person on account of race, color, gender, religion, age, marital/parental status, political beliefs, sexual orientation, gender identity or expression, national origin, or because a person is handicapped, a disabled veteran, or a veteran of the military service."

In her Investigative Report, Prosecutor Bentley concluded, in part: "The E-board meeting on July 24, 2012, and the Chief Steward meeting on August 2, 2012, resulted in a number of **personal attacks** that started with Ms. Peace's suggestion about attending the week-long Leadership School the week of September 23, 2012" (emphasis added), and;

"All three [Luna, Vasquez and Peace] were <u>willing participants</u> in these inappropriate discussions, with the <u>'first shot' fired by Peace</u>" (emphasis added).

The Executive Board's Decision states in part:

"Prosecutor Bentley detailed a series of verbal altercations between Peace, Vasquez, and Luna which consisted of each of them accusing the other of sexual misconduct and using profane and vulgar language. The Board is loath to describe the name-calling and accusations as they are both vulgar and inappropriate. ...", and;

"While the incidents did reflect badly on <u>all</u> of the individuals making the inappropriate comments, the Executive Board believes that these actions did not bring the <u>Local</u> into disrepute."

The Executive Board Decision also concluded that the CWA Policy on Discrimination was not violated by Luna and Vasquez.

We agree with Prosecutor Bentley's and the Executive Board's conclusion that the Policy on Discrimination was not violated based on the fact that the evidence does not support Ms. Peace's claim that she was unlawfully discriminated against by Luna and/or Vasquez on account of one of the reasons stated in numbered paragraph three (3) of the Policy. Even if the Board <u>had</u> found that the Policy was violated, <u>proceeding to trial would still not be warranted</u> as there is <u>no</u> evidence that the actions of Luna and Vasquez brought the <u>Local</u> into disrepute, <u>as required by Article XIX Section (I)(i)</u>.

Finally, based on the conduct Ms. Peace <u>admitted</u> to engaging in, which is <u>virtually identical</u> in nature to the conduct she complains of in the charges she filed against Mr. Luna and Ms. Vasquez, we find it disingenuous <u>and an abuse of process</u> for Ms. Peace to file charges, much less her appeal, considering her "<u>unclean hands</u>" in this matter.

For the foregoing reasons, we concur with the Executive Board's decision that the appeal of Executive Vice President Judy Peace be denied, and recommend that the decision of the Executive Board be upheld and the appeal of Judy Peace be denied.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Appeal 6, no delegates wishing to speak. All those agreeing with the committee's report, please indicate by raising your hand. Down hands. Opposed? It is adopted.

I recognize the Committee Chair.

CHAIR HALL: For the purpose of reading Appeal No. 7, we have Tom Benedetto.

# **COMMITTEE MEMBER BENEDETTO:**

## APPEAL NO. 7

Former Local 6143 Vice President Sean McKenna has appealed the Executive Board's decision to uphold the Trial Court's decision to suspend Mr. McKenna from membership.

Sean McKenna was Vice President of Local 6143. He was brought up on charges of violation of the CWA Constitution and CWA Local 6143 Bylaws:

Local 6143 Bylaws, Article 6(a), working under the direction of the President; and

CWA Constitution, Article 19(1)(i), for such other offenses, equally serious, which tend to bring the union or local into disrepute.

These charges were filed after a series of incidents between May 10, 2010, and September 27, 2010. Mr. McKenna had been warned on two different occasions by his President Ralph Cortez in regard to violent, threatening and hostile actions, and abusive language to officers and office staff. After not heeding the warnings and directives of President Cortez, Mr. McKenna was suspended from his position as Vice President and directed to return to work at his job with AT&T. Upon his return to work, Mr. McKenna was overheard telling members that the Executive Board of Local 6143 was stealing money from the Local, thus putting the Local's reputation in jeopardy.

A Trial Court was held on June 23, June 24, and July 22, 2011. The Trial Court found Mr. McKenna guilty on all charges and suspended him from membership for a period of ten years. Mr. McKenna appealed that decision.

Since Local 6143 had been placed in temporary administration, that appeal was to the temporary administrator. Temporary Administrator Mark Franken issued his decision upholding the decision of the Trial Court. Mr. McKenna further appealed his decision to the CWA Executive Board based on various procedural grounds and maintains that he was denied due process during the trial. The Executive Board has also upheld that decision, however, reducing the suspension to seven years.

After careful review of the various claims made by Mr. McKenna, the Appeals Committee recommends that the decision of the Executive Board be upheld and the appeal of Sean McKenna be denied.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Appeal 7 is before you. No delegate wishing to speak. All those who agree with the report of the committee, please indicate by raising your hands. Down hands. Opposed? It is adopted.

I thank the Committee for their work. Thank you. (Applause)

We have Political Action Fund awards and then adjournment, but I have a request for a delegate to speak at Microphone 1, Delegate Henderson.

**DELEGATE BILL HENDERSON (Local 1298):** I would like to make a motion to reconsider the motion that was previously made by my brothers and sisters. I also voted in the affirmative on this issue. But after reviewing the thoughts of the past day, it was clear to me that Article XV, Section 8, entitled

"International Union Officers' Term of Service," and that retirement shall be mandatory for all full-time officers of the union after reaching the age of 70, upon the expiration of their current term of office.

It may not violate the federal law, as pointed out in the document, on age discrimination, but it violates our moral code and our union principles. Can you imagine telling Morty Bahr, our President Emeritus--

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Delegate, just one minute. You made a motion to reconsider.

**DELEGATE HENDERSON:** Motion to reconsider.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** First I need a second.

... The motion was duly seconded from the floor ...

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Okay, now you can speak as you are.

**DELEGATE HENDERSON:** I'm sorry about that.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** It's my mistake.

**DELEGATE HENDERSON:** Can you imagine telling our President Emeritus Morty Bahr, after he reached able 70 that he could no longer be our President, especially after he went to age 78, that he had to leave office early because of this provision in our Constitution? I don't know who on the Executive Board thought this was a good idea, but to me it's an injustice to our membership, and it should be overturned.

As Ronald Reagan pointed out, you know, when he was asked about being over 70 years old and running for President of the United States, he said, "I won't hold the youth and inexperience of my opponent against him if he doesn't hold my age and experience against me to do the job."

Our members should decide at the ballot box, not an arbitrary clause in our Constitution, who should be our President and who should be our elected officers on the stage. This motion for reconsideration I feel should be upheld. Thank you. (Applause)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Before you is not the motion itself. It's the motion to reconsider. Make sure we stay clear here.

On Microphone 3, Delegate Lane.

**DELEGATE TOM LANE (Local 1395):** Thank you, President Cohen. I am standing in favor of this-- whatever you are calling it.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Motion to reconsider.

**DELEGATE LANE:** --motion to reconsider. I would have gotten up here the other day, but getting closer to 70 years old, by the time I got to the Against mike, we were three amendments later. (Laughter)

But I have to say, it really did shock me that we didn't get more resistance in this room for this amendment in the first place. It was a few short years ago I remember someone on the stage that was 70 named Morty Bahr who still had a pretty good fast ball, and when it came to getting contracts done, there was no one finer that I know of that could have represented any of us. (Applause)

I believe in the political process of, you know, if we have a problem with who's in there, we get to

vote them out. And in this particular case, that's why I am surprised there was no resistance on it because-- I mean, here we are sitting here saying, "If we don't like the old, then bring in the new." I have no problem with that. If there is someone 70 or 60 or 40 not doing their job, they should go by the wayside. There is no question about that.

But if you have it in your heart and your soul, like most people in this room do, to stick up for people who can't stick up for themselves, and you feel like you're good at it, and you have a wealth of knowledge and experience to draw from, I don't think there is anything wrong with continuing with your passion to do what you are doing.

I just want to say that I would really like to see this overturned. This has really upset me, and I will give you some idea. I have been to probably 22 or 23 of these Conventions, and I have never got up to speak on a an issue. I have felt strongly on a lot, but we always have people get up to speak on them. But for this particular issue, it really, really bothered me the other day, and I am just thankful to have an opportunity to get up and speak on it.

Whether you vote for it or against, I can jump on a plane hopefully and get back home safe, and I will feel better about, if nothing else, myself. Thank you. (Applause)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** I just want to remind delegates, this is only on the motion to consider. We just went through the merits. That would have come later, but in the interest of democracy and free speech, I was not going to interrupt Delegate Lane. So this is the motion to reconsider-- only that, to reconsider.

On Microphone No. 4, Delegate Harmon.

**DELEGATE BRADLEY HARMON (Local 6355):** Just strictly speaking on the motion to reconsider, you know, I think that we were all conscious and awake whenever we voted yesterday to approve this. You know, I think that the folks who drafted this resolution and the Constitution Committee were aware of what they were doing whenever they brought it to us and recommended that we adopt this. I haven't seen anything procedurally where there were any shenanigans or monkey business with the vote yesterday when we approved this, and I really think that a motion to reconsider really is out of order.

I urge my brothers and sisters to vote against it. If it's a good idea for us to revisit this issue, I suggest that there are better ways to do it that are more deliberate than a hastily considered motion to reconsider at this point so late in the Convention.

### **PRESIDENT COHEN:** Thank you. (Applause)

Again, on the procedural motion at Microphone 3, Delegate Trementozzi.

**DELEGATE DON TREMENTOZZI (Local 1400):** I support the reconsideration of the Constitutional Amendment that got passed yesterday. I think CWA is a very democratic union, and I think we elect officials and leaders to serve us. And at age 70, if you still have the ability and commitment and drive and commitment to do that, then we elect you or we un-elect you. But I have never voted in an election based on age. I think it's discriminatory, even though it possibly could be lawful according to the Committee's research, but I support the reconsideration of this motion. (Applause)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Again, in case we have future incidents like this reconsideration, this is debating the procedural motion, not the content. So this is on whether we should reconsider what was done yesterday. That's the debate in front of you right now.

If the delegates vote to reconsider, then you would have gone into why we should vote differently. I hope that's clear. Even if it's not, we will listen politely to what delegates have to say. Anybody else? Okay, at Microphone No. 1, Delegate Bachelor.

**DELEGATE JOHN BACHELOR (Local 2111):** Call to end debate and call the question.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Thank you. Sorry I couldn't get that out. This is to end debate on the motion to reconsider. So if delegates vote to reconsider, then we begin debate on the motion itself, which would be to reverse what was done yesterday, the content of that motion, for and against. That motion will be back on the floor. Okay? This is just whether or not to reconsider.

So first, to end debate on that, all those in favor of ending debate on the motion to reconsider indicate by raising your hands. Down hands. Opposed? Okay. Debate is ended.

All those voting to reconsider that amendment please indicate by raising your hands. Down hands. Opposed? It is defeated. Thank you.

Our Political Action report will be next, and I call Vice President Jim Weitkamp to the podium.

**VICE PRESIDENT JIM WEITKAMP (District 9):** The CWA Political Action Fund awards recognize outstanding PAF fundraising efforts of our locals and districts. While everyone will not get an award, we want to thank all of you for the commitment and work that you put into building our legislative and political program over the last couple of years.

Our political work has grown with more volunteers and activists than ever before. In 2012, we saw some truly remarkable PAF fundraising successes. Almost all districts were able to increase their percentage of eligible voters, even while losing members.

We continue to look for new and innovative ways to increase our PAF contributions. I hope you stopped by the Political Action Fund booth to see our PAF materials.

The list of CWA Political Action Fund Honor Locals is in your convention packets and will be incorporated in the official Convention Proceedings. This year's awards recognize outstanding achievement in political action during the combined calendar years of 2011 and 2012.

Brother and sisters, this year, once again, there are two districts that stand out from the rest. Between them they have raised more than \$3.3 million, or almost half of the total Political Action Fund or PAF contributions during 2011 and '12. Those two districts-- no surprise here-- are Districts 1 and District 6. (Applause)

Let's start with District 1. Would Vice President Chris Shelton join me at the podium. (Applause) District 1 has won two Local awards and two District awards. Let's start with Local awards.

Would Local 1101 President Keith J. Purce join us at the podium. (Applause) Come on, Keith. This is not the Academy Awards. Walk faster.

Congratulations Keith. Local 1101 had the most members contributing to CWA-PAF at \$1-plus per week. Your local, once again, has done a wonderful job raising PAF funds.

Let's congratulate Keith and all the officers and members of Local 1101. (Applause)

The next Local award goes to Local 1395. Local 1395 had the highest percentage of members contributing to CWA-PAF at \$1 or more per week at an incredible 95 percent. Let's congratulate Thomas Lane and all of the officers and members of Local 1395 (Applause)

Now, on to the two District awards won by District 1. District 1 raised the most PAF dollars during 2011 and 2012 for a total of \$1,830,684. (Applause) District 1 has the most members contributing to PAF at \$1 or more per week, with an average of 10,439 contributors. Let's express our appreciation and congratulations to Chris and all the staff, officers, and members in District 1 for their great work. (Applause)

Now, District 6, Claude Cummings would you join me at the podium. District 6 has a long history of great PAF fundraising efforts. This year District 6 has won one District award and one Local award. The District 6 Local award goes to Local 6300. Would Mike Mehringer, President of Local 6300, join us at the podium. (Applause and cheers)

Local 6300 raised the most PAF dollars during the previous two years, with an astounding \$235,258. Let's congratulate Mike and all of the officers and members of Local 6300. Great job. (Applause and cheers)

And as for the District award for District 6, District 6 had the highest percentage of members contributing to the CWA Political Action Fund at \$1 dollar or higher week with an average of 16.5 percent.

Congratulations, Claude, all of District 6, and all of your locals and members for a job well done. (Applause)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Okay. I have a motion to adjourn. It does have precedence, but there are a number of people who have asked to speak at the Privilege mike. With the consent of Convention, I would like to hold the motion to adjourn in order to recognize some of those delegates-- or all of those delegates-- who have something to share with this Convention. I said "all," but I just meant the ones who wanted to do this.

These are not motions; they are privileges. I hear some remarks. Do you guys feel that's okay? We are going to hear from them, and then come back to the motion to adjourn. (Applause)

Then I will recognize them without objection. And please, as is our custom, please indicate your name and local number.

**DELEGATE JOHN EBELING (Local 6300):** Brothers and sisters, I appreciate the opportunity to say a few words in support of the United Mine Workers and their problems with Peabody Coal, Arch and Patriot. In 2007, brothers and sisters, Peabody created Patriot in a spinoff. The new company included all of Peabody's operations east of the Mississippi River.

The initial members of the Board of Directors of Patriot were all officers or Board Members of Peabody at the time of the spinoff. Most importantly, Patriot assumed \$570 million of Peabody's legacy costs, healthcare, and retirement obligations.

In 2008, Patriot purchased Magnum Coal for \$695 million. Magnum, which was created by Arch in a similar scheme in 2005, assumed \$500 million in legacy costs from Arch. Therefore, in less than two years, Patriot had accumulated over \$1.3 billion-- brothers and sisters, that's billion-- in retiree healthcare and pension obligations from Arch and Peabody. None of these affected retirees with healthcare and pension obligations conveyed to Patriot had ever worked for Patriot.

In the three years since Patriot acquired these liabilities, Peabody made nearly \$2.2 billion and Arch posted a profit of \$343 million. These profits would be enough to pay the future healthcare costs of all former employees forever and twice over.

During the same period, Patriot recorded losses of \$110 million. On the July 9, 2012, Patriot filed bankruptcy in the Southern District of New York, seeking to gut the collective bargaining agreements

covering 2,000 active miners and terminate health care coverage for 22,000 retirees, spouses, widows, and dependents. Patriot called these costs "substantial and unsustainable legacy costs."

The union filed a motion on July 19, 2012, seeking a change of venue. On August 21st, 2012, the U.S. Trustees for Region 2 of New York also filed a motion with the court requesting the case be moved to another court. The Trustees noted in its motion that the action by Patriot was a "transparent attempt to manufacture venue."

On November 27, 2012, The Honorable Judge Shelly Chapman issued her decision with respect to the union's change of venue motion. In her decision, Judge Chapman stated, "St. Louis is where Patriot is headquartered. Most important, it is the headquarters of Peabody Energy and Arch Coal. These two companies spun off their operations to Patriot in an attempt to run away from pension and healthcare obligations to thousands of miners and their survivors."

CWA brothers and sisters cannot allow Peabody, Arch, and Patriot to break the promises they made to their employees and members. Their unconscionable and immoral effort to do so would serve to increase their profits at the expense of former and current employees. They would cause unimaginable suffering and premature death for many of these miners and their families, and the financial repercussions would reverberate, devastating numerous coal field communities.

Brother and sisters, this is not only an attack on the United Mine Workers' problem; this is every workers' problem. And certainly every big company could use the bankruptcy courts to accomplish the same kind of horror on their retirees and their widows and their children.

I am proud to say that on Monday the 29th, our President, Larry Cohen, will be in St. Louis to support the United Mine Workers in unity and solidarity. He will be one of the members that will be arrested to show the unity and support of CWA, the greatest union in the Labor Movement.

Thank you brothers and sisters.

... The delegates arose and applauded ...

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Thank you, brother.

Delegate Harwell.

**DELEGATE JASON HARWELL (Local 6225, Waco, Texas):** I have another brother that's kind of in on this. He is going to introduce himself.

DELEGATE BILLY BROWN (Local 6174): Out of Killeen, Texas.

**DELEGATE HARWELL:** Good afternoon, brothers and sisters and President Cohen. On behalf of our members, friends, and family in West Texas, after recent events there in Central Texas, I would like to make a motion to take up a collection by passing the hat on the floor of the Convention. The people of West could use our help, and it would be greatly appreciated for the contribution. Thank you.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Brother, it wouldn't be a motion. We would just, with concurrence, the Sergeants-at-Arms would just do that. I would ask that you alert the Sergeants-at-Arms. So please figure out a way to do that as folks leave. Is that okay, brother? Because it's not a motion at this point, it's emotion. It's emotional and we will do it, but it will be done in a way while people leave. Is that okay?

#### **DELEGATE HARWELL:** Yes, of course.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** I appreciate that, and lots of love back in Waco. (Applause)

Brother Kiino.

**DELEGATE STAN KIINO (Local 29011):** The Association of Flight Attendants wants to extend their deep appreciation for this battle to keep knives off our planes, to keep it safe for us and you, as well as passengers. We request that you take the postcards that you see here on your table and complete them, please. And on your way out by the exits, you will see these white file boxes and the lids with the round emblem, the round circle that says, "No knives on our planes." We thank you very much, and all the best.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Thank you and congratulations. (Applause)

Mary Lou Schaffer.

**DELEGATE MARY LOU SCHAFFER (Local 13550):** On behalf of Local 13500 and Local 13550, I would like to thank all the delegates who participated in both rallies today. We had a great turnout at both locations, and with your help we sent a strong message to AT&T to save our Pittsburgh call centers. We appreciate all of your support. (Applause)

PRESIDENT COHEN: Is that Brother Cheliotes?

CHAIR CHELIOTES: Yes, sir.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** You're it, brother.

**CHAIR ARTHUR CHELIOTES (Local 1180):** Prior to our reconvening this afternoon, there was a video that was being played that was interrupted during the power shortage. I would request that the delegates be patient. It's an eight-minute video, and it's really worth seeing. I think it will send us off from this convention understanding fully some of the issues that we need to address when we get back home. I would encourage the delegates to also show this video to the members in the rank and file back in their communities.

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** We will try to line that up immediately after the adjournment if people could stay and watch. You don't have to do this, obviously, but it was interrupted at lunch by the power failure, and we are trying to line that up as we speak.

So that would be immediately after the adjournment, maybe wait a couple of minutes so that those who want to leave or need to leave can leave.

Secretary-Treasurer, do you have a few announcements? Then I have a couple closing words, and then we will recognize the motion to adjourn.

**SECRETARY-TREASURER HILL:** Thank you, President Cohen.

We have some Defense Fund Oversight Committee election results. In District 1, the Member is Ken McNamara and the Alternate is Evelyn Evans. (Applause)

In District 3, Richard Honeycutt is the Member; Keith Patterson is the Alternate. (Applause)

In District 4, Ed Phillips, the Member; Mike Handley, the Alternate.

District 6, Nancy Lee, the Member; Linda James, the Alternate.

District 7, Cecilia Valdez, Member. There is no alternate.

District 9, Joan Gifford, the Member; Pam Suninga, the Alternate.

IUE-CWA, John Lewis the Member; no alternate.

And where there were ballot elections conducted for the Trial Panel, in District 3, Judy Bruno, the Member; Sean Todd, the Alternate.

And in District 7, Stan Wyle, the Member, and no Alternate.

Some announcements on people who won raffles: The winners of the Political Action Fund raffle for those who signed up for Political Action Fund contributions or increased their contribution during this Convention-- Dwayne Phillips, Local 4400; Claretta Allen, IUE-CWA Local 86782. You can pick up your prizes at the PAF booth.

And on the Movement Building iPad prize, thanks to all of you who shared your stories about how and why you are building our movement. The winner of the iPad mini is Kim Humphries from Local 6450. Kim, you can pick up your iPad at the "Share your Story" booth. We will be posting all of the stories online at www.cwavoices.org. You saw many of them during the Convention while we were here. Please visit the website and encourage other members of your local to visit and share their own stories.

For those of you who signed up and committed to continue to make contributions to the Elizabeth Glaser Pediatric AIDS Foundation or be a new donator to the Foundation, we will sort through the commitments, and there will be two Kindle Fires awarded. We will be notifying those people and sending them out.

And last but not least, I would like to thank and acknowledge Mark Vican and Cherry Moore, who are CWA employees and have been working hard to provide all the printed material you have received in this Convention, all with the CWA printer bug. (Applause)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Great work, you guys. Great being with you for two days. I'm talking about you. I think what you all do demonstrates what we are at our best. When we agree, when we don't agree, and we will keep working, as we said, on how we manage when we don't agree. That could be here; that could be anywhere.

It's really critical because in times that are tough, people will disagree more. And if we don't manage that really, really well, we end up hurting feelings. And while we may not admit it because we are all tough guys, it screws up the union. So, to disagree is fine. In tough times, it's going to happen more. So we've got to listen really well. Then we figure out democratically how to make decisions and move on. And you did that really well, and I am proud to be part of all of you. (Applause)

Annie already mentioned the Secretary-Treasurer's office and the work they did supporting this Convention. It's an enormous amount of work. I want to thank the folks as well right around me and the other departments that have worked on this, particularly Yvette Herrera, Ron Collins, George Kohl, Sandy Rusher, Shelena Williams, and everybody else from our office. Thanks.

It's not always fun working with me, I know that's a shock. You guys are great. I love you all. Thanks for what you do. And everybody else who worked on this Convention, my thanks and my heart goes to you. (Applause)

Brother Ebeling talked about St. Louis, and, yes, I will be there Monday and I will sit down in the streets of St. Louis, and we will take it from there. Some might say, "Well, why is that so special?" Well, it's about 10,000 coalminers being stripped of their retiree health care after going down in the mines for decades, where there is the record in this country still of the worst occupational disease of virtually any

#### occupation.

But in many ways, it's a symbol for all of us of all the fights we have. And I, together with this Board and our staff across the country, will be there in the streets with you. We understand that this will be messy. It won't always be clear what the right tactics are at the right time. It can't be the same tactics all the time.

It won't always be clear when we bargain a contract, when do we negotiate, when do we resist, when do we delay, when do we fight back, when do we strike. We have disagreements on that as well, right? Part of that came into the Telecom conversation here. Again, that's good.

We've got to keep listening. We've got to keep figuring it out. But we also have to remember that, for our members, they do expect us to negotiate agreements. Every single contract can't be a Peabody Coal, or the strike at Verizon just over the right to bargain itself.

Often every bargaining committee member-- and we recognize all of you-- often we feel like we need to walk out the door. "This is unimaginable. I can't do it. I can't continue to sit here day after day and take this."

Again, there is no real recipe for this. We have to figure this out as we go. There will be disagreements, as you know, even among this Board and among you and within your local, about our strategies, about our tactics at a given moment.

And that same patience and solidarity and love will be key, so that we don't end up shrinking ourselves when we disagree or when decisions are not clear, or when two different bargaining committees make two different decisions. The one that says "no" is not necessarily smarter than the one that says "yes." And the one that says "yes" is not necessarily smarter than the one that says "no"-- shocking I know.

But one thing was clear here in these two days: We have to go broader. That means involve more of us. We can't ask the same folks here to do more. That becomes physically impossible. We all get 168 hours in a week, that's it. It doesn't matter who we are, same deal. The earth is spinning, right? Broader, open ourselves up, have more involvement.

We heard great stories here of folks doing that-- retirees on one end, Next Generation, and everybody in between. Great stories here. We heard them from you and some from up here. Amazing efforts at new coalition building, much of which comes from you. Some of it in local communities and cities like St. Louis, in that example, linked to, in that case, West Virginia. Coalminers will be riding 16 hours to go to that rally next Monday as they have done others-- retired and active, week after week.

Or those who were up here from T-Mobile, building solidarity 4 or 7,000 miles away, depending on where we are in this country. Again, they are partnering with one German city of ver.di members. Whatever they call a local union in German, that's what they are doing. Whether it's Dortmond or Berlin and Bavaria, that's what they are doing. It's never been done before by any union.

Examples we heard from the mike, the brother talking about joining the Sierra Club and trying to build something together that wasn't even about green issues, but about all kinds of issues that affect us. Or the Arizona story, or the Ohio story, or the ones we heard on video or audio, or the ones that you just recorded even today. We want to keep those going.

And they don't have to be spectacular. They don't have to work. We are not afraid of-- I don't like to use the word failure-- but things not working out. There is no failure in that. Because again, if nothing else, we don't have a recipe about the future. We can learn from the past.

But we do know-- every delegate here, every activist in our union knows-- that on these core issues we are absolutely right. Yet, as Jim Little said, on many of them, whether we are talking about jobs, healthcare, bargaining and organizing rights, the democracy issues, Senate rules, voting rights, money in politics, immigration, we're virtually unanimous in this room. And yet much of Labor is too quiet or not with us. They are focused too narrowly, as we talked about in these two days.

It doesn't mean they are bad. It doesn't mean even those among us who do that that there is something wrong with them. But it does mean that the majority of us here believe that, if we don't go wider, if we don't build that movement, if we don't make that attempt, we will be back in two years with fewer of us, more downhearted, more despairing, more angry at ourselves instead of at where that anger needs to be.

On the other hand, you voted here for significant change in terms of your resources to do movement building work. It doesn't mean it won't rest on volunteers. It's always going to rest on volunteers. We are not going to beat billionaires with our money. It's not doable; it's mathematically impossible. No arithmetic will add up to that.

But on the other hand, if in your cities and towns, rural and urban, from Puerto Rico through Canada, but particularly here in this mainland where we were under this crushing attack, we have more resources to try things, to build broader partnerships-- with labor whenever possible; that is first-- but then with whoever else will band together with us, not just for one issue, but for that vision-- that vision of economic justice and the vision of bringing back a real democracy to this country which hurts for all of us, veterans or not, young or old. We are the patriots. We will never give up on that. This is our flag, or flags. You see many of them.

But true patriotism means that we work and commit, and when necessary fight for all of us, not for one of us. We fight for justice. We fight for democracy.

And in the two years until we come back together, I know that you will be out there trying to help figure this out, in every part of this country, whether Charleston, South Carolina, or New York City. You heard stories from both. Whether Phoenix or California, we heard from both.

And I couldn't be prouder to be there with you, whether it's in the streets of St. Louis, even ending up in the St. Louis jail. It's been a few years, but I've got many other jails behind me. I'm more than willing to be there. And I know all of us here are willing to go that extra distance to say to the power structure, that one-tenth of one percent, "You may have the money and you may have the greed, but we will build a movement of the people, and we will never give up. We will keep standing up and fighting back."

As we leave here, our battle cry will be: What do we do when we are under attack? We stand up, and we fight back. And as we heard from the brothers at CableVision, it's one day longer, and one day stronger. We stand up, we fight back, one day longer, one day stronger.

And now at Microphone 1, I will recognize for a motion to adjourn, Delegate Skotarczyk.

**DELEGATE DAVID M. SKOTARCZYK (Local 4050):** Very good. I would like to apologize. I am losing my voice. I had way too much fun last night.

President Cohen, Secretary-Treasurer Hill, Executive Board, Fellow Delegates: I would like to make a motion to adjourn. And also I have the privilege and the honor, on behalf of my newly-elected District 4 Vice President, Linda Hinton, and all my brothers and sisters at District 4, to invite you to our next Convention, June 8-10, 2015, in my hometown, Deeeeetroit, Michigan. (Applause)

You are going to have a good time. If you were there before, you won't recognize it. Detroit has its problems. You see us in the newspapers. It was a town built by union labor, my dad, a carpenter. It was a town decimated by Corporate America that turned its back on it. But it's a town being reborn through the love and dedication of the people, the citizens and the unions in the City of Detroit.

We have a new River Walk. We have new restaurants. We have three casinos. You are going to have a good time. There's much, much more.

Now, I want you all to have a good time, but I'm going to take care of you. If you have too much trouble, my local has group rates at the bail bondsman. And if you have <u>way</u> too much fun, well, I can get you group rates with a divorce attorney.

Thank you very much. (Applause)

**PRESIDENT COHEN:** Again, thanks to everybody who's here. We march out of here standing up and fighting back. In a couple minutes we will show that video.

The 74th Convention of the Communications Workers of America is now adjourned. Solidarity forever!

... Thereupon, the 74th Convention of the Communications Workers of America adjourned, sine die, at 4:15 p.m...

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